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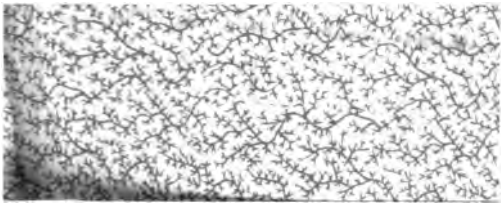

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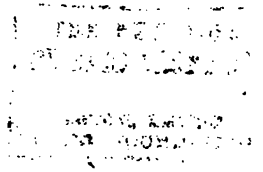

he third King of England crowning his
Chevalier du Ribaumont at Cal

THE

WORKS

OF

M. DE VOLTAIRE.

Tranſlated from the FRENCH.

WITH

Notes, Hiſtorical and Critical.

By T. SMOLLETT, M. D.

T. FRANCKLIN, M. A. and OTHERS.

VOLUME THE TWENTY-SECOND.

LONDON:

Printed for J. NEWBERY, R. BALDWIN, W. JOHNSTON, S. CROWDER, T. DAVIES, J. COOTE, G. KEARSLEY, and B. COLLINS at Saliſbury.

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Of the FRENCH ISLANDS, *and of the Buccan*

ADDITIONS

TO THE

ESSAY ON GENERAL HISTORY,

AND

The Manners and Spirit of Nations, from CHARLEMAGNE to the preſent Time.

Of the GERMANS.

CÆSAR tells us, in his Commentaries, that the days of battle were always appointed by their magicians or ſoothſayers; and that when Arioviſtus, one of their kings, led an army of an hundred thouſand wandring Germans, to pillage the country of the Gauls, that he (Cæſar) being deſirous to ſubdue theſe people, rather than plunder them,

See Introduction to Gen. Hiſt. vol. I. p. 8.

ſent two Roman officers to Arioviſtus, to confer with him on the occaſion; when the barbarian ordered them to be loaded with chains, and to be kept as victims to be offered to the gods of his country; which inhuman ſentence was going to be put in execution, when Cæſar delivered them by beating the German army. The families of theſe barbarians lived in wretched cottages, at one end of which the father, mother, ſiſters, brothers, and children, lay all huddled together naked upon ſtraw, while the other end was reſerved for their cattle. Theſe, however, were the ſame people who became maſters of Rome. Therefore Tacitus, in extolling the manners of the antient Germans, is like Horace when he ſings the praiſes of the barbarians Getæ; both writers ſhew themſelves equally ignorant of their ſubject, and in fact only make the ſatire of Rome. Nay, Tacitus, in the midſt of his panegyric, acknowledges what every one knew, that the Germans choſe rather to live by rapine, than to be at the pains to cultivate their lands; and that after having plundered their neighbours, they were wont to return home to make merry with their booty. However, they could not always ſubſiſt by plunder, for the Roman emperors having at length checked their incurſions, and ſubjected a great part of them, they were conſtrained to ſeek a livelihood by labour, which they conſidered as the greateſt hardſhip.

CHANGES

CHANGES in the GLOBE.

[dem, page 9.] THOSE pleaſant and fruitful tracts of land in the weſtern part of Europe, that ſweet country watered by the Rhine, the Maeſe, the Seine, and the Loire, were all covered by the waters of the ocean for a prodigious number of ages. This truth is phyſically demonſtrated by thoſe deep and horizontal beds of ſea-ſhells, which are found far in-land, and which were depoſited there by little and little, as the ocean left it.

It is not ſo certain that thoſe chains of mountains, which run acroſs the old and new world, were formerly covered by the ſea.

1. Becauſe theſe mountains are many of them 10,000 feet and more higher than the ſurface of the ſea.

2. Becauſe, if there was a time when theſe mountains did not exiſt, whence did thoſe ſprings and rivers of freſh water ariſe, which are ſo neceſſary to the lives of all animals?

3. In ſuppoſing theſe mountains to have been covered with waters, we muſt contradict the order of nature, and the known laws of gravity and the hydroſtatics.

4. The bed of the ocean is hollow, and in this cavity we find no chain of mountains ſtretching from one pole to the other, or from eaſt to weſt, as on the earth; we cannot therefore, with any degree of truth, conclude that all our globe was for a long time covered with ſea, becauſe ſeveral parts of it have been formerly *overflowed*. We muſt not aſſert, that the

ſea once divided the Alps and the Cordilleras, becauſe it has covered the lower parts of Gaul, Greece, Germany, Africa and India: neither ſhould we infer that mount Taurus was once a navigable flood, becauſe the Philippine and Molucca iſlands were once part of the continent. And altho' it is probable that the mountainous parts of the earth may have undergone many phyſical and moral changes, as well as the more level parts, yet we do not know what theſe have been: human nature is entirely new to us.

Of CHINA.

Vol. I. chap. I. page 11.

IT is ſaid in the Book of the Five Kings (by far the moſt ancient and authentic of the Chineſe) that in the reign of the emperor Yo, the fourth in ſucceſſion to Fo-hi, there was obſerved a conjunction of Saturn, Jupiter, Mars, Mercury, and Venus. Now, our aſtronomers pretend to diſpute among themſelves concerning the time of this conjunction, which certainly they ought not to do; for even ſuppoſing the Chineſe to have been miſtaken in this celeſtial obſervation, the very miſtake was glorious. We learn from books, that from time immemorial the Chineſe knew that the planets Venus and Mercury revolved round the ſun; it would therefore be rejecting the common lights of reaſon not to perceive, that ſuch a knowlege ſuppoſes a vaſt number of preceeding ages; and what renders thoſe firſt writings ſo peculiarly venerable, and gives them ſuch an acknowledged ſuperiority over all thoſe that relate the origin of

of other nations is, that we do not meet with any prodigies in them, any predictions, or any of thoſe political impoſtures, with which the founders of all other ſtates ſtand charged, unleſs we will except that of Fo-hi, who is ſaid to have given out that he ſaw his laws written on the back of a flying ſerpent. But even this imputation, if true, ſhews us that writing was known in China before the time of Fo-hi. In fine, it is not for us in this weſtern corner of the globe, to diſpute the archives of a nation who were compleatly civilized, while we were no more than a herd of ſavages.

* * *

Id. page 12.] The Chineſe invented a cycle, or computation of time, which begins 2602 years before ours. Is it for us then to diſpute a chronology which has been unanimouſly received by a whole people? Is it for us, I ſay, who have at leaſt threeſcore different ſyſtems for reckoning antient dates and times, and conſequently have not one on which we can depend?

* * *

Id. page 15.] Certain learned chronologiſts have computed, that from one ſingle family remaining after the deluge, the members of which were conſtantly employed in the buſineſs of procreation, and their children the ſame, there was begotten in the ſpace of 250 years, a far greater number of ſouls than the whole world at preſent contains. Surely the Talmud, or the Arabian tales, never broached any thing half ſo abſurd! Children are not begot with the daſh of a pen. Examine our colonies; *examine* the prodigious cluſter of

iſlands in Aſia, which furniſh not a ſingle ſoul; or the Moldivian, Philippine and Molucca iſlands, which have not half their proper number of inhabitants.

* * *

Id. page 18.] The journal of the Chineſe empire, which is the moſt authentic and uſeful work of its kind in the known world, inaſmuch as it contains the particulars of all the public wants, and the reſources and intereſts of all the orders of the ſtate: This journal, I ſay, informs us, that in the year of our vulgar æra 1725, the wife of the emperor Yontohin, whom he had cauſed to be declared empreſs, did, according to the ancient cuſtom on ſuch occaſions, diſtribute preſents to all the poor women in China above ſeventy years of age. The journal reckons in the ſingle province of Canton 98,220 women of ſeventy years of age who received the bounty on this occaſion, 40,893 of eighty and upwards, and 3453 who were near an hundred. How many women then muſt there have been, who were not entitled to this donation? We have here above 142,000 who partook thereof in one province only. Theſe are among the number accounted of no uſe to the ſtate. How prodigious then muſt be the population of this country? Only ſuppoſing every one entitled to the bounty throughout the empire to have received the value of ten livres *, to what an immenſe ſum muſt this have amounted!

* About eight ſhillings and ſixpence ſterling.

Id.

* * *

Id. page 20.] There is a particular paſſage in the third book of Confucius, which ſhews how very ancient the uſe of armed chariots is. In his time, the viceroys, or governors of provinces, were obliged to furniſh the emperor, or head of the empire, with a thouſand war-chariots, drawn by four horſes a-breaſt, and a thouſand four-wheeled chariots. Homer, who flouriſhed a century after the Chineſe philoſopher, never ſpeaks of chariots with more than three or four horſes a-breaſt. The Chineſe had undoubtedly firſt begun, and were become perfect maſters in the uſe of four-wheeled chariots; but neither the Greeks in the time of the Trojan war, nor the Chineſe, appear to have made uſe of ſingle cavalry, and yet it is almoſt beyond diſpute, that the method of fighting on horſeback was prior to the uſe of chariots. We are told that Pharaoh king of Egypt had horſemen, and at the ſame time that he made uſe of chariots of war.

* * *

Id. page 22.] It is certain that the Chineſe were acquainted with the elements of geometry many ages before Euclid; and the emperor did of late years aſſure father Parenin, the moſt learned and wiſe of any of the miſſionaries who had acceſs to the perſon of that prince, that the emperor Yu had made uſe of the properties of the right-angled triangle, in drawing the geographical plan of a province above 3960 years ago; and father Parenin himſelf quotes a book wrote above 1100 years before our vulgar æra, which ſays, that the famous demonſtration which the *weſtern* part of the world attributed

to Pythagoras, had for a long time been in the number of the moſt generally known theorems.

* * *

Id. page 23.] The fundamental law in China being, to conſider the empire as one family, is the reaſon why the welfare of the community is attended to as the firſt and principal duty; hence that particular care which the emperor and the ſeveral tribunals ſhew in keeping the highways in repair, in making comunications between rivers, in forming canals, and in encouraging the agriculture and manufactories.

We ſhall ſet apart another ſection for treating of the Chineſe government. But you are to obſerve before hand, that the travellers and miſſionaries have affirmed it to be altogether deſpotic. But here they judge only from outward appearances; and becauſe they ſee men fall flat on their faces before another, imagine from thence, that they muſt all be ſlaves to that perſon, and that he has abſolute power over the lives and fortunes of an hundred millions of men, to whom his ſole will muſt be a law. But this is an erroneous opinion, as we ſhall ſhew more at large in another place; for the preſent I ſhall content myſelf with obſerving, that, in the firſt ages of this monarchy, the people were permitted to write down any complaints they might have againſt the adminiſtration, on a long table placed for that purpoſe in an apartment of the palace, and that this cuſtom was received in its full force under the reign of Vengthi, two centuries before our vulgar æra; and laſtly, that, in times of peace, the repreſentations of the tribunals have always had the force of law.

* * *

Chap. II. page 29.] Confucius begins his book by ſaying, that whoever is deſtined to rule over a nation, ought "to purify that reaſon "which he has received from heaven, in the "ſame manner as we cleanſe a mirrour when "it is ſullied;" and alſo, that he ought "to "form himſelf anew, in order to new-model "the people committed to his care." All he ſays tends to the ſame end. He does not pretend to inſpiration, or the gift of prophecy. He places all his merit in a conſtant endeavour to gain the maſtery over his paſſions, and he writes only as a philoſopher: accordingly the Chineſe conſider him only as a philoſopher.

* * *

Id. page 30.] We know very little about materialiſm, and far leſs about immaterialiſm. The Chineſe did not know more of it than ourſelves, and their learned were ſatisfied with adoring a Supreme Being. Of this there can be no doubt.

The belief that God and his angels were corporeal, was an old metaphyſical error; but not to believe that there is any God, is an error incompatible with a wiſe government. It is a contradiction worthy of ourſelves to cry out with vehemence againſt Bayle, for believing that a ſociety of atheiſts may ſubſiſt, and at the ſame time to affirm, that the wiſeſt empire in the univerſe is founded on atheiſtical principles.

Father Fouquet the Jeſuit, who lived 25 years in China, and left it a declared enemy to thoſe of his own order, has told me ſeveral times, that there were very few of the Chineſe

philoſophers-atheiſts. The ſame may hold g amongſt us.

Of the INDIES.

Vol. I. chap. III. THIS country is the only in the world that produ thoſe ſpices which the tempera of the natives can do without, and which epicuriſm of the inhabitants of theſe north climates have rendered a neceſſary food.

Id. page 33, 36.] Pythagoras, the gym ſophiſt, may alone ſerve as an inconteſtible pr that true ſcience was cultivated in India. maſter in politics and geometry would not h have remained in a ſchool where they tau nothing but empty words. It is even more t probable that Pythagoras learnt the propertie the right-angled triangle from the Indians, invention of which was afterwards aſcribed him; for as it was ſo well known in China might eaſily be the ſame in India. It has b frequently ſaid, that he offered an hecatomb bullocks on the diſcovery. This was rather extravagant offering for a philoſopher. I certainly well becoming a wiſe man to ret thanks for a happy thought, to him who is giver of all knowledge, as well as of being; it is more likely that Pythagoras was indeb for this theorem to the gymnoſophiſts, than h he ſacrificed an hecatomb of bullocks.

Ibid.] The Indian ſages treated morality philoſophy under the veil of fable and alleg long before the time of Pilpay. When t wanted to deſcribe the equity of any one

their kings, they ſaid, that "the gods who "preſide over the ſeveral elements having a "diſpute among themſelves, had choſen this "king as umpire between them." Their ancient traditions give an account of a judgment much like that of Solomon's. They have a fabulous ſtory exactly the ſame as that of Jupiter and Amphitryon, but more ingeniouſly imagined, for a ſage by his ſuperior knowledge diſcovers which of them is the god, and which the mortal. Theſe traditions ſhew the great antiquity of thoſe allegories which make all extraordinary men to be children of the gods. The Greeks learnt all their mythology from the Indians and Egyptians. All theſe parables formerly included a philoſophical meaning; in proceſs of time the meaning was loſt, and the fable remained.

Science has greatly degenerated among the Indians: poſſibly the Tartarian government may have damped the genius of thoſe people, and the Ottoman government has that of the Greeks and the Egyptians, which latter it has in a manner made ſtupid. The ſciences are likewiſe almoſt annihilated among the Perſians, from the multitude of revolutions that ſtate has undergone. We have ſeen, that they have continued in China in much the ſame degree of mediocrity as amongſt us in the middle age, and from the ſame cauſe which operated with us, namely, a ſuperſtitious veneration for antiquity, and the rules and dogma's of ſchools. Thus the human mind finds ſomething to check its progreſs in every country.

* * *

Id. Page 35.] Some have imagined that the human race was originally of Indoſtan, and alledged in defence of their opinion, that the moſt helpleſs of all animals would be naturally produced in the mildeſt of all climates, and in a country where the ground ſpontaneouſly produced the moſt wholſome and nouriſhing fruits; ſuch as dates and cocos, the latter of which in particular, produce with a very little trouble, wherewithal to afford him food, raiment, and lodgings; and what more can an inhabitant of this iſthmus ſtand in need of? The labourer there works almoſt naked, and two yards of a thin ſtuff is more than ſufficient for a covering to their women, who are ſtrangers to luxury. The children continue naked as they are born till the age of puberty. Mattraſſes, feather-beds, rich coverlids, and double curtains folding over each other, which we purchaſe with ſo much pains and expence, would be inſufferable inconveniences to theſe people, who cannot ſleep otherwiſe than upon a mat, in the open air.

Thoſe houſes of carnage, which with us are called fleſh-markets, and where ſo many carcaſes are ſold to nouriſh our's, would occaſion a plague in the Indian climate. The natives want only light and cooling food, and nature has accordingly beſtowed on them, with a liberal hand, vaſt woods of citron, orange and fig, palm and cocoa trees, and fields covered with rice. The moſt robuſt man in that country could not expend more than two-pence a-day for his diet, whereas a labouring man with us ſpends more in eating in one day, than would

would ſerve a Malabar for a month. Theſe ſeveral conſiderations ſeem to corroborate the antient opinion, that man is originally a native of a country, where nature has provided for all his wants, and left him little or nothing to do himſelf. But this only proves that the Indians themſelves are *indigenæ*, and not that the ſeveral other races of men came from this country. The whites, the blacks, the reds, the Laplanders, the Samojedes, and the Albino's, or white Moors, are certainly not natives of the ſame climate. There is as diſtinguiſhing a difference between all theſe kinds, as between a horſe and a camel. No one then but an ignorant and obſtinate braman would attempt to ſay that all mankind are deſcended from the Indian . . . . . and his wife.

* * *

Id. page 36.] The weſtern nations have always carried their gold and ſilver into India, increaſing the wealth of that country already ſo rich of itſelf. Hence it comes that we never ſee the inhabitants of India, of China, or the banks of the river Ganges, quit their own country, to make incurſions on other nations, as was the cuſtom with the Arabs, both Jews and Saracans, the Tartars, and even the Romans themſelves, who being ſituated in the worſt part of all Italy, lived in the beginning wholly by war, as they do at preſent by religion.

It is beyond doubt, that the continent of India was of a much larger extent formerly than it is at preſent. The iſlands which are ſcattered between it and the eaſtern and ſouthern part of the continent were, in the early ages of the world,

world, a part of the Terra Firma, as may appear by the shallowness of the sea which separates them, the trees that grow at its bottom, which are exactly the same with those found on the islands, and, lastly, those new portions of land which it frequently leaves dry; all which shews that this part of the continent has been formerly overflown; and this has happened as a necessary consequence, when the ocean, which always gains in one part what it loses in another, returned from our western shores.

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Id. page 36.] The abominable custom by which the women in India make a point of honour to burn themselves on the bodies of their husbands, is not yet abolished. The widow of the king of Tangour burned herself in this manner, in the year 1735, on the funeral pile of her husband. Mr. Dumas and Mr. Dupleix were witnesses of several of these inhuman sacrifices. This is certainly the utmost extent of error and superstition over the perverted mind of man. The most austere dervis is a pusillanimous wretch in comparison of a Malabar woman.

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Id. page 37.] It certainly was not christianity that flourished in India in the sixth century, it was mahometanism, which had been introduced there after the conquest of the caliphs, and Aaron Raschild, or Haroun Alraschid. This illustrious cotemporary of Charlemagne, who conquered Africa, Syria, Persia, and a part of India, sent some musulmen missionaries to propagate the Mahometan faith among the inhabitants on the borders of the Ganges, those of the isles in the Indian sea, and even a hord of negroes.

negroes. From that time there were a great number of miſſionaries in India. We do not find that the great Aaron converted the Indians by fire and ſword, as Charlemagne did the Saxons; neither do we find that the Indians refuſed to ſubmit to the yoke of Aaron Raſchid, as the Saxons did to that of Charlemagne.

The Indians have always been as remarkable for their mildneſs, as our northern race for their roughneſs. The ſoftneſs which is begotten by a climate, is not to be overcome, but roughneſs is to be ſoftened.

In general, the men inhabiting the ſouth-eaſt part of the globe, have received from nature gentler manners than we who dwell in the weſtern hemiſphere. Their climate naturally diſpoſes them to abſtinence from ſtrong liquors and fleſh-meats, foods which inflame the blood, and frequently to a degree of madneſs; and altho' the natural goodneſs of their diſpoſitions may have been corrupted by ſuperſtition, and the repeated irruptions of foreigners, yet all travellers agree, that theſe people have nothing of that petulance and fourneſs in their nature, which has coſt ſo much pains to keep under in the people of the north.

There being ſo great a phyſical difference between us and the natives of India, there muſt undoubtedly have been as great a moral one. Their vices were in general leſs violent than ours. Like us they in vain ſought for a remedy againſt the irregularity of their manners. It was from time immemorial a maxim with them and the Chineſe, "that the wiſe man was to come from the weſt". We Europeans, on the contrary, ſaid, "that the wiſe man was to come from

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"the east." All nations have, in all times, stood in need of a wise man.

Of the BRAMINS, the VEDAM, and the EZOUR-VEDAM.

AS India supplies the wants of all the world, but is herself beholden for nothing, she must for that very reason have been the most early civilised of any country, and by a like consequence necessarily have had the most ancient form of worship. It is most probable the religion of India was for a long time the same with that of the Chinese government, and consisted only in the pure and simple worship of a Supreme Being, free from any superstition and fanaticism.

This simple religion was formed by the first bramins, such as it was established in China by the first kings of that country. These bramins, who at that time governed India, were the peaceable rulers of a mild and discerning people, and were at the same time the chiefs of religion. That religion must be simple and rational, because its chiefs have no occasion for errors to procure them obedience. It is so natural to believe in one only God, and to adore him, and to feel from the very soul that he must be just, that where a ruler declares these truths, the faith of the people prevent his words. It requires some time to establish arbitrary laws, but a single instant is sufficient to teach a number of people assembled, to believe that there is a God, and to hearken to the dictates of their own hearts.

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The firſt bramins then, being at once kings and pontiffs, could not eſtabliſh religion but on the foundation of univerſal reaſon; but it is not ſo in thoſe countries where the pontifical and regal dignity are ſeparate. In this caſe the religious functions, which belong originally to the heads of families, form a diſtinct profeſſion. The ſervice of God becomes a trade, and to make this worth carrying on, recourſe muſt ſometimes be had to deluſions and impoſtures.

Religion then degenerated among the bramins as ſoon as they ceaſed to be ſovereigns.

The bramins had ceaſed to rule in India long before the time of Alexander the Great; but their tribe, or *caſt* as it was called, ſtill held the chief rank, as it continues to do to this day; and it was from this tribe that they took thoſe ſages (true or falſe) which the Greeks called Gymnoſophiſts. It cannot be denied, that, even in their decline, they gave many proofs of that kind of virtue which is compatible with the illuſions of fanaticiſm. They continued to acknowledge one ſupreme God, in the midſt of the multitude of ſubordinate deities, which popular ſuperſtition adopted in all countries in the world. Strabo expreſsly ſays, that in the main the bramins acknowledge only one God. In this they reſemble Confucius, Orpheus, Socrates, Plato, Marcus Aurelius, Epictetus, all the ſages, and all the hierophantes, or thoſe who had the care of the ſacred myſteries. The ſeven years of probationerſhip among the bramins, and the ſilence enjoined during that term, were ſtill in force in the time of Strabo. The celibacy to be obſerved during this noviciate, the abſtaining from the fleſh of houſhold animals, were

laws

laws which they never tranſgreſſed, and which ſtill ſubſiſt among them. They held one God, the creator, preſerver, and avenger, and believed the fall and degeneracy of man; and this opinion is every where to be met with among the people of antiquity. *Aurea ſata eſt ætas* is the device of all nations.

Apuleius, Quintus Curtius, Clemens Alexandrius, Philoſtratus, Porphiry, and Palladio, all agree in their encomiums on the extreme temperance and frugality of the bramins, their life of retirement and penance, their vows of poverty, and the contempt they ſhew for all the vanities of this world. St. Ambroſe makes no ſcruple to prefer their manners to thoſe of the chriſtians of his time; though perhaps this may be one of thoſe allowable exaggerations meant to correct the irregularities of his fellow citizens; and this panegyric on the bramins might be intended as ſalutary ſatire on the monks; and had St. Ambroſe lived in India, he would probably have praiſed the monks, in order to put the bramins to the bluſh. However, we know, from a multitude of teſtimonies, that theſe men were every where in high reputation, on account of the ſanctity of their lives.

That belief of one only God, for which they are ſo eſteemed by all philoſophers, continues with them, in the midſt of the numberleſs idols with which their country abounds, and the extravagant ſuperſtition of the common people.

A French poet ſays, in one of his epiſtles, of which every line is almoſt a falſhood,

L' Inde

" L'Inde aujourd'hui voit l'orgueilleux brachmane,
" Deifier brutalement zéié,
" Le diable même en bronze ciſelé."

" ——— India beholds
" Her bramin, vain of fancy'd piety,
" Proſtrate before his brazen deity,
" With brutal zeal e'en Satan's name invoke."

But certainly men who do not believe in a devil, will hardly invoke that devil. Such abſurd reproaches are unſufferable. The devil was never adored in any one country in the world. The Manichæans themſelves never paid any worſhip to the evil ſpirit, nor is it any where enjoined in the religion of Zoroaſter. It is high time for us to lay aſide the mean cuſtom of calumniating all ſects, and abuſing all nations but our own.

I have in my hands a tranſlation of one of the moſt antient manuſcripts in the world. I do not mean the *Vedam* which is ſo much ſpoken of in India, and which has not hitherto been communicated to any of our European literati. It is the *Ezour-vedam*, an ancient commentary, compoſed by Chumontou on this Vedam, which the bramins pretend to be the moſt holy of all books, and to have been delivered by God himſelf to man. This commentary has been digeſted by a very learned bramin, who has done many great ſervices to our India company, and who tranſlated it himſelf out of the holy tongue into French *.

* I have made a preſent of this MS. to the king's library, where any one may have a ſight of it.

In

In the *Ezour vedam*, or commentary, Chumontou ſtrongly attacks idolatry. He firſt quotes the words of the Vedam itſelf:

" The Supreme Being has created all things, " both animate and inanimate. There have " been four different ages of the world; every " thing periſhed at the end of each age. The " whole world was drowned, and a deluge is " the paſſage from one age to another, &c.

" When God exiſted alone, and no other " being exiſted with him, he formed the deſign " of creating the world. He at firſt created " time, and then the water and the earth, " and from the mixture of the five elements, " namely, earth, water, fire, light and air, " he formed the different bodies, and gave them " the earth as their baſis. He made the globe " we inhabit oval, or in the ſhape of an egg. " In the midſt of the earth is the higheſt of all " mountains, whoſe name is Meron, (i. e. " *Immaus.*) The firſt man created by God was " called *Adimo*, his wife's name was *Procriti*. " Of Adimo was born *Brama*, who was the " lawgiver of nations, and the father of the " bramins."

How many curious things are here in a few words! The firſt that preſents itſelf to us is this important truth, that God is the creator of the world: then follows the primitive ſource of the old fable of the four ages, the golden, the ſilver, the brazen, and the iron. All the principles of ancient divinity are included in the Vedam. We there find the Deucalidonian deluge, which is only an emblem of the prodigious trouble that men found in thoſe times to drain the ground, which the negligence of their forefathers

thers had ſuffered to lie under water. The quotations in this Vedam, or holy manuſcript, are all of them ſurpriſing. We there find the following admirable ſentence word for word:

"God never created ſin, nor can he be the "author thereof. God, who is wiſdom and ho- "lineſs, created only virtue."

The following is one of the moſt ſingular paſſages in the Vedam:

"When the firſt man came from the hand of "God, he ſaid to him, There will be diffe- "rent occupations on the earth, every man "will not be fit to exerciſe all, how are we to "diſtinguiſh ſuch as are proper for each? God "anſwered him, Thoſe who are born with a "greater knowledge of, and inclination for "virtue than the reſt, ſhall be bramins. Thoſe "who partake the moſt of *roſogoun*, (*i. e.* am- "bition) ſhall be warriors, thoſe who partake "the moſt of *tomogun* (*i. e.* avarice) ſhall be "merchants, and thoſe who partake the moſt "of *comogun* (*i. e.* bodily ſtrength, and a limit- "ed underſtanding) ſhall be employed in ſer- "vile labours."

In theſe words we have the true origin of the *four caſts* in India, or rather of the four conditions of human ſociety; for, indeed, on what can the inequality of theſe conditions be founded, but on an inequality of talents? The Vedam goes on and ſays,

"The Supreme Being has neither body nor "figure;" and the Ezour-vedam adds, "All "ſuch who give the Deity hands or feet, are "fools or madmen." Chumontou then quotes theſe words of the Vedam:

"When

" When God took all things from nothing, " he created a diſtinct individual of each ſpecies, " willing that it ſhould contain its own germ " within itſelf, in order to produce its like. " He is the ſovereign and lord of all things. " The ſun is but a body without life and " knowledge, and is, in the hands of God, like " a candle in the hands of a man."

After this, the author of the commentary, as he is attacking the opinion of the modern bramins, who admit ſeveral incarnations in the gods *Brama* and *Wiſnou*, expreſſes himſelf thus:

" Tell me, blind and ſenſeleſs man, who " were *Kochiopo* and *Odite*, of whom thou ſayeſt " thy god was born? Were they not mortals " like us? Shall then that God, who is pure " in his nature, and eternal in his eſſence, " ſtoop to loſe himſelf in the embraces of a " woman, in order to take a human ſhape? " Doſt thou not bluſh to repreſent that God " to us, in the poſture of a ſuppliant before " one of his creatures? Haſt thou loſt thy un- " derſtanding? or art thou come to that " height of impiety, as not to bluſh at mak- " ing the Divine Being act the part of an im- " poſtor and a liar?———Ceaſe then to de- " ceive mankind; and on this condition, and " this only, I will explain to thee the *Vedam*; " for if thou remaineſt in the ſame ſentiments, " thou art incapable of underſtanding it, and " it would be profanation to attempt to teach " it thee."

In the third book of this commentary, the author refutes the fable of the incarnation of the god Brama, invented by the modern bramins.

who pretend he appeared in India under the name of *Kopilo*, that is to say, the Penitent, and that he chose to be born of *Debobuti*, the wife of a man in good circumstances, whose name was *Kordomo*.

" If it is true, says the commentator, that " Brama was born upon earth, how came he " eternal? Would he, who is supremely hap- " py, and in whom alone is our happiness, " have submitted to suffer all the pains and in- " conveniencies of an infant, &c."

After this there follows a description of hell, exactly like that which the Egyptians and Greeks have given us of Tartarus. " What " must we do, it then says, to avoid hell?" " We must love God, replies the commentator " Chomontou; we must do what is ordered in " the Vedam, and in the manner there pre- " scribed. There are, says he, four ways of " loving God. The first is, to love him for " his own sake, and without any self-view; " the second is, to love him thro' interest; " the third is, to love him only in those mo- " ments when our passions are predominant; " and the fourth is, to love him only for the " sake of obtaining the object of those passions; " and this last way does not deserve the name " of love."

This is the summary of the most remarkable passages in the *Vedam*, a book hitherto unknown in Europe, and to almost all Asia.

The bramins have degenerated more and more. The *Cormoredam*, which is their ritual, is a collection of superstitious ceremonies, which would make any one laugh who is not born on the borders of the Ganges or Indies; or,

or in other words, any one, who not being a philoſopher, is ſurpriſed at the follies of other nations, and not at thoſe of his own country. As ſoon as an infant is born, it muſt have the word *oum* pronounced over it, or it will be for ever unhappy. Its tongue muſt then be rubbed with conſecrated meal. Certain prayers are to be ſaid over it, and at each prayer, the name of ſome god is to be pronounced. The third day of the new moon, the child is to be laid in the open air, with its head turned towards the north.

The detail of every trifling circumſtance is immenſe. The whole is a collection of all the follies, wherewith the ſtudy of judicial aſtrology can have inſpired the brains of an ingenious but extravagant, or deſigning body of learned men. The whole life of a bramin is taken up with theſe ceremonious triflings. They have a particular ceremony for every day of the year. Mankind ſeem to have become weak and effeminate in India, in proportion as they have been ſubjected; and there is great appearance, that after each conqueſt they were loaded with new ceremonies, and new penances. Sezac, Madies, the Aſſyrians, the Perſians, Alexander, the Arabians, the Tartars, and in our own days Sha Nadir, by their ſucceſſive incurſions and ravages in this beautiful country, have formed a nation of devotees, of thoſe whom nature had not formed for war.

Their pagods, or temples, were never ſo rich as in times of the greateſt miſery and humiliation. Each of theſe pagods has a conſiderable revenue belonging to it, which is further increaſed by the offerings of the devout. When a raja

a raja (or Indian nobleman) paſſes by a pagod, he immediately alights from his horſe, his camel, his elephant, or his palanquin, and walks on foot till he is out of the diſtrict of that pagod.

The antient commentary on the Vedam, from which I have given the above extracts, appears to me to have been written before the time of Alexander's conqueſts in India, for we meet with none of thoſe names which the Greek conquerors gave to the rivers, towns, and provinces of that country. India itſelf is called *Zomboudipo*; mount Immaus, *Merou*; and the Ganges, *Zenoubi*. Theſe antient names are at preſent known only to thoſe learned in the holy language.

The ancient purity of the religion of the firſt bramins ſubſiſts no longer, except among a few of their philoſophers, and theſe do not give themſelves the trouble of inſtructing a people who will not receive inſtruction, and who indeed deſerve it not. They would even run ſome hazard in attempting to undeceive them; the ignorant bramins would ſet up the cry of hereſy and impiety, in which they would be joined by the women, who are devoted to the ſervice of their pagods, and fond, to a degree of enthuſiaſm of all the little ſuperſtitious ceremonies employed therein. Whoever attempts to teach his fellow citizens reaſon, is ſure of being perſecuted for his pains, unleſs he has the arm of power on his ſide; and we generally find, that thoſe who uſe the arm of power, rivet the chains of ignorance inſtead of breaking them.

The Mahometan religion is the only one that has made any great progreſs in India, eſpeci-

ally among the higher rank of people: the reason is, that it is the religion of the ſovereign and that it teaches the worſhip of one God agreeable to the antient doctrine of the bramins. Chriſtianity has not met with the ſame ſucceſs in this country, notwithſtanding the evident holineſs of its doctrine, and the numerous ſettlements of the Portugueſe, French, Engliſh, Dutch, and Danes: and indeed this mixture of nations may have been the chief hindrance to the progreſs of our holy faith: for as they all hate each other, and frequently are at war between themſelves in this country, it has made the doctrine they teach deſpiſed. Moreover, the Indians are diſguſted with our cuſtoms, and ſcandalized to ſee us drink wine, and eat fleſh-meats, which they hold in abhorrence. The conformation of our organs of ſpeech, which occaſions us to pronounce the Aſiatic languages ſo badly, is another almoſt inſurmountable obſtacle; but the greateſt is the difference of opinions which divide our miſſionaries. Thoſe of the catholic communion oppoſe thoſe of the church of England, theſe latter the Lutherans, who are again oppoſed by the Calviniſts; thus, every one contradicting another, and all pretending to publiſh the voice of truth, and mutually charging each other with falſhood, confound a ſimple and peaceable people, who view, with aſtoniſhment, a ſet of furious men crowding in to their country from the weſtern extremities of the earth, to cut each others throats on the borders of the Ganges.

It muſt be confeſſed that we have had ſome miſſionaries in that part of the world, who have commanded reſpect by their piety, and the gen-

tleneſs

ſtleneſs of their manners, and who cannot be accuſed of having exaggerated their labours or their ſucceſſes. But all thoſe who have been ſent from Europe to make converts in Aſia, have not been men of underſtanding and virtue. The famous Nelcamp, author of the hiſtory of the Tranquebar miſſion, acknowledges, "That "the Portugueſe filled the ſeminary of Goa "with malefactors who had been condemned "to baniſhment, who being afterwards made "miſſionaries, could not even in that cha-"racter forget their old trade." Our holy religion has made very little progreſs in theſe parts; and none at all in the dominions immediately ſubject to the great mogul. Mahometaniſm and the religion of Brama continue to divide this vaſt continent between them.

MAHOMET.

Vol. I. chap. IV. p. 41, 42.

THERE never was a conqueror or legiſlator whoſe life has been written with greater authenticity, or handed down to us with a more circumſtantial exactneſs, than that of Mahomet, by thoſe writers who were his cotemporaries. If we diveſt it of thoſe miracles, with a belief of which the people of that part of the world were infatuated, we ſhall have an account agreeable to known truths in all its parts. He was born at Mecca, in Arabia Petræa, in April 579, according to our vulgar a father's name was *Abdala*, that of *Emena*. It is beyond contradiction mily was one of the moſt conſide

tribe, which was that of Korah. But the genealogy which makes him to be deſcended in a right line from Abraham, appears to be one of thoſe fables invented by the natural deſire which mankind have to impoſe upon one another.

The manners and ſuperſtitions of the primitive ages, of which we have already taken a review, were ſtill preſerved in Arabia, as will appear by the vow which Abdalah Moutaleb, the grandfather of Mahomet, made to offer one of his children in ſacrifice. A prieſteſs of the temple of Mecca, ordered him to redeem his ſon by offering a certain number of camels, which the exaggeration common among the Arabians makes to amount to an hundred. This prieſteſs was dedicated to the ſervice of a ſtar, which is ſuppoſed to have been Sirius, or the dog-ſtar, for each tribe had its particular ſtar or planet; they alſo paid divine honours to genii and demi-gods, but ſtill acknowledged a ſuperior deity; and in this reſpect almoſt all nations ſeem to be agreed.

Abdallah Moutaleb is ſaid to have lived to the age of an hundred and ten; his ſon Mahomet carried arms when he was only fourteen years old, in a war upon the confines of Syria; but being afterwards reduced to very low circumſtances, one of his uncles placed him as factor to a widow woman called Cadeſche, who exerciſed the profeſſion of a merchant; at this time he was twenty-five years of age. This widow ſoon after took her young factor for her huſband, and Mahomet's uncle, who brought about this match, gave his nephew twelve ounces of gold, or near nine hundred ſranks of our money *,

* About 37 l. Sterling.

which

which was the whole patrimony of him who was one day to change the face of the moſt extenſive and beautiful country in the world. Mahomet lived in obſcurity with his miſtreſs, now his wife, to the age of forty.

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Id. page 43.] Mahomet reſolved within himſelf to root out of his country the doctrine of the Sabæans, which conſiſts in a medley worſhip of the true God and of the ſtars. Judaiſm, which is held in abhorrence by the nations, and which at that time began to make a conſiderable progreſs in Aſia, and laſtly, chriſtianity, which he knew only by the irregularities and ill conduct of the ſeveral ſects ſpread over the face of his country; he deſigned to reſtore the ſimple worſhip of Abraham, whoſe deſcendant he pretended to be, and to bring all mankind to believe in the only God; a tenet which he thought grievouſly changed and mutilated in all religions. This he in effect declares himſelf in the third ſura or chapter of his Alcoran, where he thus expreſſes himſelf, "God knows, and ye do not know. "Abraham was neither Jew nor Chriſtian, but "a believer of the true God. He had given his "heart to God, and was not of the number of "idolators."

It is probable that Mahomet, like all enthuſiaſts, being forcibly ſtruck with his own ideas, uttered them at firſt as he felt them; theſe growing afterwards more ſtrong by being often repeated, he deceived himſelf while he was deceiving others; and at length he had recourſe to impoſture to ſupport a doctrine which he thought right. He began by eſtabliſhing his credit as a prophet with thoſe of his own family, which

was perhaps the moſt difficult part of his undertaking. His wife, and young Ali the huſband of his daughter Fatima, were his firſt diſciples.

He quickly found that his countrymen were incenſed againſt him, on account of the innovations he wanted to introduce; but this was no more than what he had reaſon to expect. His anſwer to the threats of the Koraſhites, at once paints the character of the man, and ſhews the method of expreſſion uſed by thoſe of his nation. "Though ye were to come againſt me, ſays "he, with the ſun in one hand, and the moon "in the other, I would not depart from my "purpoſe."

He had raiſed only ſixteen diſciples, four of which were women, when he was obliged to make them quit Mecca, on account of the perſecution raiſed againſt them; and ſent them to preach his religion in Æthiopia. He boldly remained behind, where he braved all his enemies, and continued making new converts, whom he ſent into Æthiopia to the number of an hundred. But that which gave the greateſt weight to his new religion, was the converſion of Omar, who, from having been a long time his perſecutor, became his diſciple. This Omar, who was afterwards a great conqueror, ſtanding up in the midſt of a numerous aſſembly, cried out with a loud voice, "I atteſt that there is "but one God, that he has neither companion "nor equal, and that Mahomet is his ſervant "and prophet."

* * *

Id. page 45.] Mahomet undoubtedly was neither ignorant nor illiterate, as ſome have pretended. He muſt, on the contrary, have been a perſon

perſon of great learning for one of his nation, and the times he lived in, ſince we have ſome medical aphoriſms of his; and that we know he corrected the Arabian calendar, as Cæſar did that of the Romans. He was a poet, as appears by his Koran, the laſt verſes of every chapter being in rhyme, and the reſt in meaſured proſe; and this air of poetry contributed not a little to render his book reſpectable; for the Arabians held poetry in the higheſt eſteem, and wherever there happened to be a good poet in any one of their tribes, the other tribes ſent a kind of ambaſſador, with compliments of congratulation to that which had produced an author, whom they looked upon as inſpired, and an uſeful member. The beſt productions of this kind were fixed up in the temple of Mecca, and where the ſecond chapter of Mahomet's Koran was placed there, which begins thus, "There is no room for "doubt; this is the knowledge of the righteous, "and of thoſe who believe in the holy myſte-"ries, who pray at the proper times, who give "with liberality, &c." One Abid, who at that time bore the palm as the firſt poet in Mecca, tore down his own verſes which had been hung up in the temple, and from an admirer became a diſciple of Mahomet's. Theſe are manners, cuſtoms and facts, totally different from any amongſt us; and may ſerve to ſhew us what an amazing variety of colouring is in the great picture of nature, and how cautious we ſhould be not to judge of the manners and cuſtoms of other nations by thoſe of our own.

Id. page 48.] Notwithſtanding the ſtrong conformity of manners between the Iſmaelites, and the antient Hebrews, as to their enthuſiaſm

and thirst after plunder, yet the former greatly superior to the latter in courage, ge[illegible] and magnanimity. Their history, both and fabulous, before the time of Mah[illegible] abounds with examples of friendship, equ[illegible] in the Grecian [illegible] of Pylade[illegible] Orestes, Theseus and Pirithoüs. The [illegible]

See page [illegible] and [illegible]

of the Barmecides is one [illegible] of [illegible] nerosity, which transpo[illegible] with admiration in the recital. [illegible] On the [illegible] we do not meet with one generous [illegible] the Hebrew annals. They were [illegible] generosity, and clem[illegible] [illegible] and full [illegible] the most rapacious usury to [illegible] and this spirit of usury, which [illegible] of all baseness, is engrafted in [illegible] which is the perpetual object of the fi[illegible] [illegible] in that kind of eloq[illegible] [illegible] They glory in laying [illegible] fire and sword, those defenceless tow[illegible] villages, of which they can make themselv[illegible] masters. They put to death all the old and children, reserving only young maiden[illegible] are marriageable. They assassinate their [illegible] ters when they are slaves, and never list[illegible] mercy when they are conquerors; in a[illegible] they are enemies of human kind. We fi[illegible] the least footsteps of politeness, knowledg[illegible] any one of the useful or agreeable arts a[illegible] this nest of barbarians. But after the [illegible] age of the Hajaira, the Arabians becam[illegible] utors of Europe in the arts and sci[illegible] not

notwithſtanding that their religion ſeems to be the profeſſed foe of all polite accompliſhments.

* * *

See page 45.] This diviſion ſowed the firſt ſeeds of that great ſchiſm, which at preſent ſeparates the two ſects of Omar and Hali, the Sunni and the Cofias, the Turks and the modern Perſians.

* * *

The Arabians carried their ſuperſtitious reſpect for the Alcoran, ſo far as to believe that the original was written in heaven. The grand diſpute was, whether this book was written from all eternity, or only in the time of Mahomet. The moſt devout eſpouſed the opinion of its being eternal.

* * *

It is well worthy of obſervation, that Omar indulged the Jews and Chriſtians, who inhabited Jeruſalem, with full liberty of conſcience.

* * *

Thoſe who are fond of antiquity, and delight in comparing the geniuſes of different nations, will be pleaſed to ſee the great reſemblance between the manners and cuſtoms in the time of Mahomet, Abubeker and Omar, and thoſe of which Homer has given us ſo faithful a portrait. They will here behold the chiefs of one party, defying thoſe of the oppoſite party to ſingle combat, and ſtepping forth from their reſpective ranks to decide the fate of the day in the preſence of both armies, who remain inactive ſpectators of the conteſt, while the combatants mutually interrogate each other, return defiance for defiance, and invoke the aid of the gods before they begin the fight. There were ſeveral of

[illegible] fought at the siege of I[illegible]

[illegible] the combat of the Amazo[illegible] Homer and Herodotus, were [illegible] the won[illegible] Felix w[illegible] of Abubei[illegible] to bell[illegible] who li[illegible] men. I[illegible] where every [illegible] is not to [illegible] were bred [illegible] mes wi[illegible] We have a p[illegible] the siege of Damascus of [illegible] Himear, who [illegible] with an arro[illegible] who w[illegible]

[illegible] Ariosto a[illegible] warriors [illegible]

[illegible] examples of the l[illegible] Th[illegible] rare, appear [illegible] especia[illegible] no lon[illegible] nimself [illegible] when arm[illegible] machine, th[illegible]

[illegible] Arabian heroes at t[illegible] in single combat, or in r[illegible] are entirely in that natural tas[illegible] whi[illegible]

which we find in Homer, but incomparably more enthuſiaſtic and ſublime.

In the eleventh year of the Hegira, in a battle fought between the army of the emperor Heraclius, and that of the Saracens, the Mahometan general Derar, being taken priſoner, and the Muſſulman forces being ſtruck with a panick at the news, one of their captains, whoſe name was Rafi, riding up to them, cried out, "What matters it if Derar is taken priſoner or "killed? God yet lives and looks upon you; "fight on, countrymen." With this ſhort and emphatical ſpeech, he rallied them, and gained the victory.

Another cries out, "Yonder is heaven, fight "the cauſe of God, and he will give you the "dominion of the earth."

The Mahometan general Caled takes the daughter of the emperor Heraclius priſoner in Damaſcus, and ſends her home without ranſom; when he is aſked the reaſon of acting thus, he replies, "Becauſe I hope ſoon to take the father "and daughter together in Conſtantinople."

When the Caliph Mohavia, on his deathbed, in the year of the Hegira 60, ſecured the ſucceſſion, which till then had been elective, to his ſon Yeſud, he expreſſed himſelf thus, "Great God! if I have ſettled my ſon on the "throne of the Caliphs, from a belief that he "was worthy of it, I beſeech thee to confirm "him on the ſame; but if I have only acted "from the dictates of a father's fondneſs, I in "like manner beſeech thee to drive him head-"long from it."

Every thing that happened in thoſe times ſpeak the character of a nation and people ſuperior to all others.

* * *

Id. page 56.] Algebra was one of the inventions of the Arabians. The word itſelf ſhews it to be from the Arabian *Algarubat*, unleſs we would rather have it derived from the name of the famous Arabian Geber, who was the firſt who taught this art in the eighth century according to the Chriſtian æra.

Of the ALCORAN and the MAHOMETAN LAW.

WE have already ſeen what were the manners of Mahomet and his countrymen, by whom a great part of the world underwent ſo ſurpriſing and quick a revolution. It now remains to give a faithful deſcription of their religion.

Id. page 44.] We have long entertained a miſtaken notion that the great progreſs of the Mahometan religion was wholly owing to the indulgence it gives to the ſenſual paſſions; but we do not reflect that all the ancient religions of the eaſt allowed a plurality of wives; Mahomet reduced the number to four, which before his time was not limited at all.

It has been a matter of great diſpute among politicians, whether polygamy is really beneficial to ſociety and propagation. The eaſtern practice ſeems to have decided this queſtion pretty clearly in the affirmative; and nature appears to give her teſtimony in favour of this deciſion, with reſpect to almoſt every ſpecies of the animal

mal creation, where there is but one male to ſeveral females. The time loſt in breeding, in bringing forth, and in the other diſorders incident to the female ſex, ſeems to call for ſome opportunities of reparation. The women in hot countries are ſoon paſt their bloom, and ceaſe to bear children. The head of a family, who places his glory and proſperity in the number of his children, has an abſolute neceſſity for another woman to ſupply the place of a wife, who is no longer in a condition to anſwer the purpoſes of marriage. Our laws in the weſt ſeem to be more favourable to the women; thoſe of the eaſt to the men and to the government. There is no one object of legiſlature, but which may be made the ſubject of diſpute. But as we have not room here for entering into a diſſertation, we ſhall confine ourſelves to the deſcription of men and manners, without paſſing judgment on them.

Ibid.] We every day hear people exclaiming againſt the ſenſual paradiſe of Mahomet; but the antients knew no other. Hercules had Hebe given him to wife in heaven, as a reward for his labours on earth. Heroes were regaled with nectar at the tables of the gods; and as man was ſuppoſed to riſe again after death, with all his ſenſes about him, it was likewiſe very natural to ſuppoſe that he would taſte, whether in a garden or in any other manſion, thoſe pleaſures which were the objects of the ſenſes that he ſtill retained. And this belief was likewiſe that of the fathers of the church in the ſecond and third century. St. Juſtin, in the ſecond part of his dialogues, expreſsly ſays, that "Jeruſalem ſhall "be enlarged and beautified to receive the ſaints

"who

" who will there enjoy the higheſt pleaſures, du-
" ring a thouſand years."

An hundred writers copying after one, tell us, that the Alcoran was compoſed by a Neſtorian monk. Some have given this monk the name of Sergius; others call him Boheira. But it is evident that the chapters of the Alcoran were written occaſionally by Mahomet during his ſeveral journies and military expeditions. Quere, Had he this monk always at his elbow?

* * *

The Alcoran is not an hiſtorical book, in which the author has aimed at an imitation of the ſacred writings of the Hebrews, and of our holy goſpels; neither is it a book purely containing a body of laws, like thoſe of Deuteronomy and Leviticus; nor is it a collection of pſalms and ſpiritual ſongs, nor a prophetic viſion and allegory, like the apocalypſe: It is a mixture of all theſe ſeveral kinds of writing; a body of homilies, in which we meet with ſome hiſtorical facts, ſome viſions, ſome revelations, and ſome laws, both civil and religious.

The Alcoran is become the code of juriſprudence, as well as of the canonical law, with all the Mahometan nations.

* * *

The commentators on the Alcoran always make a diſtinction between the poſitive and the allegorical ſenſe of the ſeveral paſſages in that book; that is, between the letter and the ſpirit. The Arabian genius is equally diſcernible in the comment as in the text. One of the moſt approved commentators has this expreſſion to denote the letter and the ſpirit: "The Koran," ſays

ſays he, "ſometimes wears the face of a man, "and ſometimes that of a beaſt."

There is one thing that will perhaps ſurpriſe the generality of readers, namely, that there is nothing new in the law of Mahomet, ſave only the tenet, that Mahomet is the prophet of God.

In the firſt place, the unity of a SupremeBeing, the creator and preſerver of the univerſe, is a doctrine of a very antient date. The rewards and puniſhments of a future ſtate, the belief of an heaven and an hell, had been long received among the Chineſe, the Indians, the Perſians, the Greeks, the Romans, and the Jews, and particularly the Chriſtians, whoſe holy religion ſeemed to ſanctify this doctrine.

The Alcoran acknowledges the influence of angels, and genii or guardian ſpirits; that of a reſurrection and laſt judgment, was obviouſly taken from the Jewiſh Talmud, and the doctrine of the Chriſtians. The thouſand years which, according to Mahomet, God will employ in judging mankind, and the manner of that judgment, are adventitious circumſtances, which in no wiſe hinder this notion from being entirely borrowed. The ſharp point over which thoſe who ariſe at the laſt day are to paſs, and from which the damned are to fall headlong down to hell, is taken from the allegorical doctrine of the Magi.

Id. page 44.] It was from theſe very Magi, and their *Jannat*, that Mahomet firſt took his ideas of a paradiſe or garden, where men, after riſing again to life, with all their faculties in perfection, to taſte by their ſenſes, all thoſe pleaſures which are peculiar to their nature, and which without

without thoſe ſenſes would be uſeleſs and of no effect. Here he learnt his notions of the *Houris*, or thoſe heavenly women, who are to be the portion of the bleſt, and which the Magi in their *Sadar* call *Hourani*. Mahomet does not exclude women from his paradiſe, as we have ſo often heard reported. This is only a raillery without foundation, ſuch as every nation caſts upon another. He promiſes his followers that they ſhall dwell in a delicious garden, which he calls paradiſe; but the height of their felicity is to conſiſt with the beatic viſion and intercourſe with the ſupreme of all beings.

The doctrine of fatality, and abſolute predeſtination, which ſeems in our days to be the peculiar characteriſtic of the Mahometan faith, was the opinion of all the antients, and prevails as much in the Iliad as in the Alcoran.

With regard to legal ordonnances, ſuch as circumciſion, waſhing, prayers, and the pilgrimage to Mecca, Mahomet in theſe only conformed himſelf to the eſtabliſhed cuſtoms of his time. Circumciſion had been a practice for time immemorial among the Arabians, the antient Egyptians, the people of Colchis, and the Jews. Ablution or waſhing had been always recommended in the caſt, as an emblem of the purity of the ſoul.

Id. page 43.] Prayer is enjoined by every religion; that of Mahomet obliged its followers to pray five times a day; this was a great reſtraint, but a reſtraint highly laudable and reſpectable. Would any one dare to complain that the creature was obliged to worſhip his creator five times in a day?

As

As to the pilgrimage to Mecca, and the ceremonies to be practiſed in the Kaaba, and on the black ſtone, almoſt every one knows that this had been a favourite piece of devotion among the Arabians for many ages. The Kaaba was held to be the moſt antient temple in the world; and although no leſs than three hundred idols were helped therein at that time, the holineſs of the place was derived principally from the black ſtone, which was ſaid to have been the tomb-ſtone of Iſhmael. Therefore Mahomet, in order to ingratiate himſelf with his countrymen, made it a fundamental precept of his religion, to viſit this precious monument of antiquity at leaſt once in a perſon's life.

Faſting was a religious rite obſerved by almoſt every nation, particularly by the Jews and Chriſtians. Mahomet made it extremely ſtrict, by extending it to a whole lunar month, or twenty-eight days, during which time it was not permitted to taſte even a drop of water, or to ſmoak till after ſun-ſet, and the lunar month frequently falling out in the midſt of ſummer, this ceremony was found ſo very ſevere, that they were at length obliged to mitigate it, eſpecially in time of war.

All religions recommend the giving of alms; the Mahometan is the only one that enjoins it as a lawful precept, that may not on any account be diſpenſed with. The Alcoran commands every one to ſet apart two and an half per cent. of their income for this purpoſe, either in money or goods.

In all the poſitive ordinances of Mahomet, we find nothing but what was founded on the moſt eſtabliſhed cuſtoms, and conſecrated by long

long antiquity. In the negative precepts, ſuch as thoſe which enjoin the abſtaining from any particular practice, that of not drinking wine is the only one that is new and peculiar to this religion. This prohibition, of which the Muſſulmans ſo much complain, and with the obſervance of which they frequently diſpenſe, eſpecially in cold climates, was given in a fiery climate, where the drinking of wine made men eaſily liable to the loſs of their health and reaſon. But furthermore, it was no new thing for perſons devoted to the ſervice of God, to abſtain from this liquor. Several ſocieties of prieſts in Egypt and Syria, and the Nazarenes and Rechabites among the Jews, did voluntarily impoſe this mortification on themſelves.

There was nothing in this injunction that could diſguſt the Arabians; and Mahomet could not poſſibly foreſee that it would one day become inſupportable to his followers in the frozen regions of Thrace, Macedonia, Boſnia, and Servia. He never imagined that his countrymen would one day penetrate into the heart of France, and Turks of his religion wave their colours on the ramparts of Vienna.

The ſame may be ſaid of the prohibition of eating pork, blood, or the fleſh of beaſts dying of any diſeaſe; theſe are precepts of health. The fleſh of ſwine in particular is a very unwholeſome food in thoſe hot countries, as well as in the Paleſtine, that lies in their neighbourhood. When the Mahometan religion ſpread itſelf into colder climates, this abſtinence ceaſed to be reaſonable; but nevertheleſs did not ceaſe to be in force.

The

The prohibiting all games of chance, is perhaps the only law of which no example is to be found in any other religion. It reſembles the rule of a convent, rather than a general law to be obſerved by a whole nation. Mahomet ſeems to have formed a people only to pray, to get children, and to fight.

His laws, which were all (except that of polygamy) ſo ſevere, and the plainneſs and the ſimplicity of his doctrine, ſoon gained his religion reſpect and credit. And above all, the tenet of the unity, delivered without myſtery, and ſuited to the moſt ordinary capacity, brought a multitude of nations to embrace his faith, even from the negroes on the coaſt of Africa, and thoſe who inhabit the iſlands in the Indian ocean.

Ibidem.] This religion is called Iſlamiſm, which ſignifies reſignation to the will of God; and this appellation was of itſelf ſufficient to make a number of proſelytes; and we may obſerve that Iſlamiſm has not eſtabliſhed itſelf throughout one half of our hemiſphere by dint of arms only, but by enthuſiaſm, the art of perſuaſion, and, above all, by the example of the conquerors themſelves, which always has the moſt powerful effect on the conquered. Mahomet when he firſt took up arms in Arabia againſt his countrymen, who impoſed his impoſture, put to death, without mercy, all thoſe who would not embrace his religion. He was not at that time ſufficiently powerful to let thoſe live who might afterwards ſubvert his infant faith. But as ſoon as he became ſettled in Arabia, by dint of preaching and the ſword, his followers, when they made excurſions beyond their own country, which till then they had never quitted, did not

com-

Id. page 47.] compel the ſtrangers they conquered to become Muſſulmans, but left it to their option either to profeſs the Mahometan religion, or pay a tribute. They were deſirous of plunder, conqueſt, and making ſlaves; but not of obliging thoſe ſlaves to change their belief. When they were at length driven out of Aſia by the Turks and Tartars, they made proſelytes even of their conquerors; and the wild herds of Tartars became a great Mahometan nation. By this we may ſee that they did in fact convert more people than they conquered.

The little I have here ſaid is a downright contradiction to what has been advanced by a number of our hiſtorians and declaimers, and even to our own general received opinions; but nevertheleſs, the truth ſhould prevail againſt error or prejudice, and ought never to be violated by thoſe who write hiſtory. Although the Muſſulman law-giver, who was a powerful and terrible conqueror, eſtabliſhed his tenets by his courage, and the ſucceſs of his arms; yet his religion became in time a religion of indulgence and toleration. On the other hand, the divine inſtitution of chriſtianity, who himſelf lived an example of humility and peace, taught us to pardon thoſe who had offended us; and yet we ſee his holy religion has, by the mad zeal of its followers, become the moſt inſupportable of any.

The Mahometans, like us, have had their ſects and ſcholaſtic diſputes; but there is no truth in what is pretended of their having ſeventy-three different ſects amongſt them. This is an idle ſtory. They pretended that the Magi had ſeventy; the Jews ſeventy one; the Chriſtians

ans ſeventy-two; and that the Muſſulmans, as being the moſt perfect believers, muſt neceſſarily have ſeventy-three. A ſtrange kind of perfection, and truly worthy the imagination of the ſchoolmen of all countries.

The different explanations of the Alcoran among the Mahometans gave riſe to two principal ſects, called the Orthodox and the Heretick. The Orthodox were the Sonnites, that is to ſay, the traditioniſts, or thoſe doctors who were attached to the moſt antient tradition, which ſerves as a ſupplement to the Alcoran. Theſe are again divided into four ſects, one of which ſtill prevails in Conſtantinople; the other in Africa; the third in Arabia; and the fourth in Tartary and Arabia; and are all looked upon as equally neceſſary to ſalvation.

The Hereticks are thoſe who deny the doctrine of abſolute predeſtination, or who differ from the Sonnites in ſome points in the ſchools. Mahometaniſm has had its Pelagians, its Scotiſts, its Thomiſts, its Moliniſts, and its Janſeniſts. But yet all theſe ſects have not produced more revolutions than amongſt us. For a ſect to occaſion any great commotions in a ſtate, it muſt attach the foundations of the prevailing ſect, accuſe it of impiety, and of being an enemy to God and men; and muſt ſet up a certain ſtandard of oppoſition that may eaſily be perceived and underſtood by the common people, and under which they may, without much enquiry, raiſe themſelves. Such was the ſect of Haly, which ſet itſelf up for a rival to that of Omar; but this grand ſchiſm was not eſtabliſhed till about the ſixth century, and reaſons of ſtate had

had a much greater ſhare in this revolution than thoſe of religion.

Of CHRISTIANITY.

Vol. I. chap. v. UNDER Diocleſian the Chriſtians did not only enjoy that liberty of conſcience, and free exerciſe of their religion, in which the Roman ſtate always indulged all its ſubjects; but they likewiſe were admitted to a ſhare in the rights and privileges of Roman citizens. Several Chriſtians were governors of provinces; and Euſebius mentions two by name, viz. Dorotheus and Gorgonius, who were officers of the palace, and on whom Diocleſian beſtowed many favours. Therefore whatever our pulpit orators have ſaid or written againſt this emperor, is the effect of ignorance. So far from being a perſecutor of the Chriſtians, he raiſed them to ſuch a pitch of power, that it was no longer in his power to ſuppreſs them.

Id. page 64.

Of the POPES.

Vol. I. chap. vi. THERE are but three ways of bringing mankind under ſubjection, namely, by civilizing them, by giving them certain laws and regulations for their obſervance; by employing religion in ſupport of theſe laws; and laſtly, by knocking one half of the nation on the head, in order to govern the other half with the more eaſe. I do not know of a fourth; and all theſe three require a chain of favourable circum-

circumſtances. We muſt go back to the earlieſt ages of antiquity to find inſtances of the firſt; and theſe are very doubtful. Charlemagne, Clovis, Theodoric, Albouin, and Alaric, made uſe of the laſt; and the ſecond has been adopted by the popes.

Id. page 75.] The pope had originally no other power in Rome, than St. Auguſtin would have had in the little town of Hippona. And even ſuppoſing St. Peter himſelf to have lived in Rome, as is pretended, becauſe one of his epiſtles is dated from Babylon, nay even had he been biſhop of Rome, at a time when there was certainly no particular ſee exiſting, his reſidence in Rome could not have given him any title to the throne of the Cæſars; and we have ſeen that the biſhops of Rome, for the ſpace of ſeven hundred years, looked upon themſelves in no other light than that of ſervants.

Of the ANOINTING of KING PEPIN.

Idem, page 79. THIS was an imitation of an antient Jewiſh ceremony. Samuel poured oil on the head of Saul. The kings of Lombardy were thus conſecrated; and even the dukes of Benevento have adapted this cuſtom. Oil was uſed in the inſtallating of biſhops; and they thought to ſtamp a kind of religious character on the temporal crown, by annexing to it an eccleſiaſtical ceremony. A king of the Goths, named Vamba, was anointed in Spain with the holy oil, in the year 674. But when the Moors became maſters of that country, they ſoon made this

this ceremony forgotten, and the Spaniards have not revived it since.

Pepin therefore was not the first anointed sovereign in Europe, as we read of every day. He had already received this holy unction from the hands of the English monk Boniface, who was a missionary in Germany, and bishop of Mentz; and who having been a long time in his travels in Lombardy, consecrated him after the fashion of that country.

Let us not forget to observe in this place, that this Boniface had been created bishop of Mentz by Carloman, brother to the usurper Pepin, without the concurrence of the Pope; not that the court of Rome any influence or intervention at that time in the nominating to bishopricks in the kingdom of the French. Nothing can be a more convincing proof, that all laws, both civil and ecclesiastical, are dictated by convenience, maintained by force, destroyed by want of power, and changed by time. The bishops of Rome pretended to absolute authority, but had it not. The popes, when under the yoke of the Lombard kings, would have made over all their ecclesiastical authority in France, to the first person of that nation who would have delivered them from the yoke they groaned under in Italy.

Pope Stephen stood in greater need of the assistance of Pepin, than this latter did of him, as appears plainly by the priest's imploring the protection of the warrior. The new king caused himself to be again anointed by the bishop of Rome, in the church of St. Dennis in France. This fact appears somewhat singular; for it is not customary to be crowned twice, when the first

firſt ceremony is thought to be ſufficient. It ſhould appear then, that in the opinion of the common people, there was ſomething more ſacred and authentic in the perſon of a biſhop of Rome, than in that of a German biſhop; that the monks of St. Dennis, in whoſe church this ſecond anointing was performed, affixed an idea of greater efficacy to the oil poured over the head of a Frank by a Roman prelate, than to that poured by the hands of a miſſionary of Mentz; and laſtly, that the ſucceſſor of St. Peter had a ſuperior power to any other, to make an uſurpation lawful.

Pepin was the firſt king anointed in France; and the only one that ever was ſo by a Roman pontiff. Clovis was neither crowned nor anointed king by biſhop Remi; and he had reigned ſome years before he was baptized. Had he ever received the ſacred unction, his ſucceſſors would undoubtedly have kept up ſo ſolemn a ceremony, which ſoon afterwards became neceſſary. No monarch had been anointed before Pepin, who received the ſacred unction in the abbey-church of St. Dennis.

It was not till three hundred years after the reign of Clovis, that Hincmar, archbiſhop of Rheims, declared in his writings, that a pidgeon had brought from heaven a phial called the holy ampulla. Perhaps the good prelate thought by this ſtory to give a religious ſanction to the right of anointing kings, which the Metropolitans then began to exerciſe. This right, however, was eſtabliſhed only by length of time; like all other cuſtoms; and theſe prelates did a conſiderable time afterwards perform this ceremony on all the kings from Philip I. to

Henry IV. who was crowned at Chartres, anointed with the Ampulla of St. Martin; Leaguers being at that time in poſſeſſion of Ampulla of St. Remi.

It is true, theſe ceremonies add nothing the right of kings; but they ſeem to encre the veneration of the people.

It is not to be doubted that this ceremony anointing, as well as the cuſtom of carrying kings of the Franks, Goths and Lombards, a ſhield, came originally from Conſtantino The emperor Cantacuſenes tells us himſ that it was a practice from time immemori for the emperors to be carried on a ſhield, up the ſhoulders of the patriarch and principal o cers of the empire; after which the empe quitting his throne, went up to a deſk in t church, where the patriarch made the ſign the croſs on his head, with a feather dipt in c which had been conſecrated for the purpo The crown was then placed on the head of t new Cæſar, by a chief officer of ſtate, or a prin of the Imperial family. The patriarch and pe ple crying out, *He is worthy.* But at the anoi ing of the ſovereign of the weſt, the biſh addreſſed himſelf to the people, ſaying, "W "you accept this perſon for your king?" A then the new monarch made an oath to people, after having taken it in the firſt place the biſhops.

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See note, page 79.] All the events of th times were a continued chain of injuſtice, pine and impoſture. An head-ſervant of Cl deric III. king of France, depoſed his maſt and confined him in the convent of St. Berti

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t the ſon of his ſovereign a priſoner in the vent of Normandy; and a pope comes from me to ſanctify theſe rebellious proceedings.

Of the PAPAL POWER.

ēm, page , 82, 83.

THE Franks, after having conquered the Gauls, were deſirous of ſubduing Italy likewiſe; ie dominion of this country had always been ie favourite object of all the barbarous nations, ot that Italy was in itſelf a better country than aul, but it was at that time better cultivated; ie towns and cities which had been built, beauified, or enlarged by the Romans, were ſtill in good condition; and the fruitfulneſs of Italy ad always been a ſtrong temptation for a reſtes, poor, and warlike people. If Pepin could ave made the conqueſt of Lombardy, as Charlemagne did, he undoubtedly would have lone it; and if he did conclude a treaty with Aſtolphus, it was owing to the exigency of circumſtances, he not being ſufficiently eſtabliſhed n the throne of France, which he had lately uſurped, having the dukes of Aquitaine and Gaſcony to contend with, whoſe rights to thoſe countries were much better than thoſe of Pepin to the kingdom of France. How then could he have beſtowed ſo many lands on the popes, when he was forced to return back to France to ſupport his uſurpation there?

* * *

Obſerve the different degrees through which the pontifical power has paſſed. The firſt biſhops of Rome were indigent and obſcure per-

ſons, who preached the word to others as poor as themſelves in cells and caverns in Rome. In the ſpace of two centuries we find them at the head of a conſiderable flock; under Conſtantine they are rich and reſpected; they become patriarchs of the weſt, they acquire immenſe poſſeſſions in lands and money, and at length grew to be powerful ſovereigns, and thus have almoſt all things deviated from their firſt origin. Were the antient founders of the Roman, and Chineſe empires, and that of the caliphs, to riſe again to life, they would behold their thrones filled by Goths, Turks, and Tartars.

Of CHARLEMAGNE.

Vol. I. ch. viii.--xi. THE great reſpectation of Charlemagne is one of the ſtrongeſt proofs that ſucceſs ſanctifies injuſtice, and confers glory. His father Pepin, at his death, divided his dominions between his two ſons Carloman and Charles. This will was ratified in an aſſembly of the nation. Carloman had for his portion Provence, Languedoc, Burgundy, Switzerland and Alſace; Charles had all the reſt for his ſhare. The two brothers always lived at variance with each other. Carloman died ſuddenly, leaving a widow and two children very young. Charles immediately ſeized upon their patrimony, and their mother was obliged to fly with her children for re to the court of Deſiderius king of the bards, whom we call Dedier. This De- was a natural enemy to the Franks, and ather-in-law to Charlemagne had as great hatred to him, becauſe he feared him. It is cer-

ertain that Charlemagne had no greater regard o the law of nature, and the ties of blood, than ther conquerors.

* * *

Charles ſent ſeveral colonies of Franks to ettle in the territories he had conquered. We have no inſtance of any prince thus tranſporting his ſubjects without their conſent. You may have obſerved great emigrations, but no one ſovereign who thus eſtabliſhed colonies after the old Roman method. It is a ſtrong proof of the policy and ſtretch of deſpotic power, to oblige men to quit the place of their nativity.

* * *

Chap. ix. page 100.] Deſiderius was obliged to deliver the ſiſter-in-law of Charles and her children into the hands of the conqueror. Hiſtory does not inform us whether they were ſhut up in a cloiſter, as well as their protector, or if they were put to death.

* * *

Id. page 103, and chap. xv. page 164.] It was the cuſtom of the ſenate of Rome to write to the emperor, or the exarch of Ravenna, when there was one, "We humbly pray that "you will order the conſecration of our father "and paſtor." The metropolitan of Ravenna likewiſe came in for his ſhare of the complement. The pope elect was obliged to pronounce two confeſſions of faith. How different from the authority of the tiara! but where is that greatneſs which may not be traced back to as low a beginning?

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Id. page 108, 109.] This man, who ſhed ſuch a torrent of blood, robbed his nephews of their patri*mony, and* was ſuſpected of inceſt,

has, by the church of Rome, been ranked among the number of her ſaints.

MANNERS and CUSTOMS in the Time of CHARLEMAGNE.

Vol. I. chap. x. xi. A Young barbarian named Chram makes war upon his own father Clotharius, regent of one part of Gaul. The father cauſes his ſon to be burnt, together with all his friends and accomplices who had been made priſoners. This happened in the year 559.

* * *

Europe was for ſo many ages like a ſtrayed and timorous hind, devoured by hungry wolves and tygers in the midſt of a deſart.

* * *

Biſhops had no ſhare in the government till the reign of Pipin or Pepin, father of Charles Martel, and grandfather to the other Pepin, who made himſelf king; neither had they a ſeat in the aſſemblies of the French nation. They were all either Gauls or Italians, people conſidered as vaſſals; and tho' biſhop Remi, the ſame who baptiſed Clovis, wrote to king Sicambrus the famous letter in which is the following expreſſion: "Be ſure you do not take the upper "hand of the biſhops, follow their councils, "for ſo long as you act in concert with them, "your adminiſtration will be ſmooth and eaſy:" Nevertheleſs, neither Clovis nor his ſucceſſors made the clergy one of the orders of the ſtate: and indeed the government was then altogether military, and cannot be more aptly compared

that

than to the ſtates of Algiers and Tunis, which are governed by a chief and a militia.

Page 115.] But when the majordomos, or mayors of this militia, inſenſibly uſurped the ſupreme power, they endeavoured to ſtrengthen their authority by the credit of the prelates and abbots, by calling them to the aſſemblies in the *Champs de mai*.

According to the annals of Metz, it was in the year 692, that mayor Pepin, the firſt of the name, procured this prerogative for the clergy; an æra which has been very negligently paſſed over by moſt hiſtorians, but which is very conſiderable, and deſerving of notice, as it laid the firſt foundation of the temporal power of the biſhops and abbots in France and Germany.

* * *

YOU aſk whether Charlemagne, his predeceſſors or ſucceſſors, were deſpotic? and if their kingdom was ſecured to them by right of inheritance in thoſe times? It is certain that Charlemagne was deſpotic in fact, and conſequently that his kingdom was hereditary, ſeeing that he declared his ſon emperor in full aſſembly of the ſtates of the nation. The right is rather more doubtful than the fact. The rights of thoſe times had the following foundation:

The inhabitants of the north and of Germany were originally a nation of hunters, and the Gauls, who were conquered by the Romans, were either huſbandmen or burghers; now a people who always went ready armed for the chace, would naturally get the better of, and ſubject a ſet of clowns and ſhepherds, who were always employed in drudgery and labour; and ſtill more eaſily of the quiet citi-

zens, who dwelt in unarmed ſecurity by their fire-ſides. Thus the Tartars over-run Aſia, and the Goths marched to the very gates of Rome. All the hords of Tartars, Goths, Huns, Vandals and Franks, were governed by chiefs. Theſe wandering chiefs were choſen by plurality of voices, and it could not be otherwiſe, for what right could a thief have to lord it over his fellow-robbers? The moſt dexterous, bold and fortunate ſpoiler, muſt at length gain the ſovereignty over thoſe who did not poſſeſs thoſe qualifications, ſo effectual to a life of rapine and plunder, in as high a degree as himſelf. They all ſhared equally in the booty, and this was a law that had ſubſiſted in all times among every tribe of conquerors. If we would have a proof of the antiquity of this law, we need only turn to the ſtory of the Frank, who would not ſuffer Clovis to take a ſilver cup belonging to the church of Rheims from the booty, and who cut the veſſel in pieces with his battle-ax, without the chief daring to oppoſe him.

Clovis became deſpotic in proportion as he became powerful. This is the uſual progreſs of human nature. It was the ſame with Charlemagne; he was the ſon of an uſurper. The ſon of the lawful prince was ſhaven and condemned to ſay his breviary in a cloiſter in Normandy; Charlemagne was therefore obliged to obſerve the greateſt precautions before a nation of warriors aſſembled in parliament. "We "will ye to know," ſays he in one of his capitularies, "that in conſideration of our humili-"ty, and the readineſs with which we obſerve "your advice, out of the fear of God; that ye, on "your parts, take care to maintain the dignity

"which

" which God hath beſtowed on us, in like man-
" ner as your anceſtors acted with regard to ours."

His only anceſtor, however, was his father, who had uſurped the kingdom, and he himſelf had robbed his nephews of their birth-right. He flattered the great men while aſſembled in parliament; but that parliament once diſſolved, woe to him who dared to contradict his will.

As to the ſucceſſion, it was natural for the chief of a conquering people to endeavour to gain their ſuffrages, in favour of his own ſon, to ſucceed him. This cuſtom of conferring the ſucceſſion by election, became in time the moſt legal and inviolable of any, and ſtill continues in force in the German empire; and the right of election was deemed to belong ſo peculiarly to the conquering people, that when Pepin uſurped the kingdom of the Franks, to whoſe king he had only been a domeſtic ſervant, pope Stephen II. who was in the uſurper's intereſt, forbade the French, on pain of excommunication, to elect for their king a deſcendant of any other race. This excommunication was indeed as ſtriking an example of ſuperſtition, as undertaking Pepin's was of boldneſs; but this very ſuperſtition is a proof of the right of election, and ſhews that the conquering nation could chuſe from among the deſcendants of its chief, the perſon who was moſt agreeable to it. The pope does not ſay, You ſhall not chuſe for your king any other than the firſt born of the houſe of Pepin, but You ſhall not chuſe any but one of his family.

Vol I. chap. vi. page 80.

Charlemagne ſays in one of his capitularies, " If of one of the *three princes*. my ſons, there

" ſhould be born a male child, whom it ſhall " pleaſe the nation to call to the ſucceſſion after " his father, I will that his uncles do not op- " poſe ſuch ſucceſſion." It is evident by this title, and a multitude of others, that the French nation had, at leaſt in appearance, a right of election. This cuſtom was originally that of all nations: we find it eſtabliſhed among the Jews, the other Aſiatic nations, and the Romans. The firſt ſucceſſors of Mahomet were elected; the ſultans of Egypt, and the firſt Miramolins held their power by no other tenure, and it is only by length of time that a kingdom becomes entirely hereditary; valour, addreſs, and neceſſity, are the only laws.

Of RELIGION in the Time of CHARLEMAGNE.

Vol. I. chap. xii. page 127.

THE books called Carolins were written in a Latin tolerably pure, which ſhews that Charlemagne had ſucceeded in reſtoring literature; but, at the ſame time, they furniſh an inconteſtible proof that there were never any theological diſputes carried on without invectives on both ſides. The very title of theſe books is itſelf an invective. " In the name of " our Lord and Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, begin " the book of the moſt illuſtrious and excellent " prince Charles, &c. againſt the abſurd and " audacious ſymbol held by the Greeks for the " adoration of images." The title of this book makes king Charles to have been its author in the ſame manner as public edicts are iſſued

ued under the name of the reigning prince, ho' he may have no hand in forming them. t is certain that all the ſubjects of Charlenagne looked upon the Greeks as idolators.

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Id. page 128, 129.] The diſpute touching he Holy Ghoſt, which time and the erudition of the clergy afterwards cleared up, was then in a ſtate of obſcurity. Several paſſages were quoted from the fathers, and particularly from St. Gregory of Nice, where it is ſaid, that "one "of the three perſons is the *cauſe*, and the other "comes from the *cauſe*. One proceeds im- "mediately from the firſt, and the other pro- "ceeds from him alſo, but by the means of the "Son, by which means the Son reſerves to him- "ſelf the property of unity, without excluding "the Holy Ghoſt from a relation to the Fa- "ther."

Theſe authorities did not at that time appear ſufficiently demonſtrative, and therefore pope Adrian II. did not come to a deciſion. That pontiff was very ſenſible that one may be a ſound Chriſtian without being able to penetrate theſe profound myſteries.

* * *

Id. page 132.] In the firſt age of the church it was believed, that the world was near its end. This belief was founded on a paſſage in St. Luke, where theſe words are put into the mouth of our Saviour; "There ſhall be "ſigns in the ſun and in the moon, and in the "ſtars, and upon the earth; diſtreſs of nations, "with perplexity; the ſea and waves roaring; "mens hearts failing them for fear of thoſe "things which are coming on the earth; for

" the powers of heaven ſhall be ſhaken, and " then they ſhall ſee the Son of Man coming " in a cloud, with power and great glory: and " when ye ſee theſe things come to paſs, know " ye that the kingdom of God is nigh at hand. " Verily, I ſay unto you, this generation ſhall " not paſs away till all be fulfilled."

Several pious perſons, who took this prediction according to the letter, which, ſay the commentators, regard Jeruſalem only, thought that the world was on the point of being deſtroyed, and expected the approach of the laſt day, when Jeſus Chriſt was to come in the clouds. Hence aroſe thoſe numberleſs imaginary wonders that were beheld in the heavens.

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Id. page 134, 135.] One would imagine that the preciſe date of the eſtabliſhment of our church-rites ſhould be known, and yet we are quite in the dark concerning this period. We do not know, for inſtance, at what time the maſs, as now celebrated, firſt came into uſe. We are ignorant of the true origin of baptiſm by aſperſion or ſprinkling, of auricular confeſſion, and of communicating with unleavened bread, and with bread only without wine; neither do we know who firſt gave the name of ſacrament to marriage, confirmation, and extreme unction, or the anointing perſons at the point of death.

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Id. page 136, 137.] Auricular confeſſion was not received ſo late as the eighth and ninth centuries in the countries beyond the Loire, in Languedoc and the Alps. Alwin complains of this in his letters. The inhabitants of thoſe countries appear to have always had an inclination

tion to abide by the cuſtoms of the primitive church, and to reject the tenets and cuſtoms which the church in its more flouriſhing ſtate judged convenient to adopt.

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Id. page 138.] The weakneſs of the ſex was ſometimes the cauſe that women ſtood more in awe of their confeſſors than of their huſbands. Almoſt all thoſe who were confeſſors to queens availed themſelves of that private and ſacred empire they had over their penitents, to wriggle themſelves into ſtate-affairs; and when once a monk had gotten the aſcendent over the mind of his ſovereign, the reſt of the fraternity took the advantage of it, and many of them made uſe of the credit of the confeſſor to wreek revenge on their enemies.

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Id. page 139.] Idolatry, or the religion of image worſhippers, muſt certainly conſiſt in attributing a divine power and efficacy to images, or the repreſentation of ſome particular perſon or thing; therefore this could not be the religion of the Scandinavians, becauſe they had neither painter nor ſculptor amongſt them.

Of the PURGATIONS or TRIALS.

Vol. I. chap. xiii. page 143, 144, 145. YOU would know if theſe cuſtoms were firſt eſtabliſhed by the Greek or the Latin church? We find examples of theſe trials at Conſtantinople as late as the thirteenth century, and Pachemire declares he was an eye-witneſs of it; it is probable, therefore

ıe Latins received theſe oriental ſu-
ɔm the Greeks.

STATE of EUROPE after the Death of LEWIS the DEBONNAIRE.

Vol. I. chap. xv. page 160. THE fate of the world always depends on the intereſts of princes: a Frank and a Salian founded the ingdom of France. The ſon of Pepin, a mayor r majordomo of the palace, held the empire of t Franks, which was ever divided by the qua of three brothers. Theſe unnatural children, otharius, Lewis of Bavaria, and Charles the l ld, after ſpilling a deluge of blood at Fontenoy, at length diſmembered the empire of their father Charlemagne by the famous peace of Verdun, by which Charles the Bald had France; Lotharius Italy, Provence, Dauphiny, Languedoc, Swiſſerland, Lorrain, Alſace and Flanders; and Lewis of Bavaria, or the Germanic, had Germany.

It is from this epocha that the moſt learned hiſtorians begin to give the name of French to the Franks. From this time Germany may date her private, as well as public laws; and this was the origin of the hatred between the Germans and the French. Each of the three brothers was diſturbed in the enjoyment of his portion by eccleſiaſtical diſputes, and thoſe diviſions and bickerings which always ariſe between parties who have been compelled to make peace againſt their wills.

Id. page 161.] In the midſt of theſe diſcords and diſſentions, Charles the Bald, the firſt ſole

ſole king of France, and Lewis of Bavaria, the firſt ſole king of Germany, called a council againſt Lotharius, and this Lotharius I. is emperor, though ſtripped of his dominions in France and Germany.

Of the NORMANS.

Vol. I. chap. xvi. page 174. THE invention of battering rams to make a breach in walls, is of as antient a date as walls themſelves, for mankind are as induſtrious to deſtroy as to raiſe up. And here I muſt beg leave to ſtep aſide from my ſubject for a moment to obſerve, that the Trojan horſe was abſolutely the very ſame kind of engine, to which was fixed an horſe's head of braſs, in like manner as was afterwards that of a ram's. This we are told by Pauſanias in his deſcription of Greece.

Of SPAIN and the MOORS.

Vol. I. chap. xviii. YOU have ſeen ſtates unfortunate and badly governed; but Spain, whoſe portrait we muſt now exhibit, did, for a long time, ſuffer the moſt deplorable calamities. The Barbarians who over-run the greateſt part of Europe in the beginning of the 5th century, laid waſte this country as well as they had done others: But how happened it that Spain, who defended herſelf ſo bravely againſt the incurſions of the Romans,

mans, fell so suddenly a prey to the Barbarians? The reason was this: At the time she was attacked by the Roman arms, she abounded in patriots, but when once subjected by that republic, her people became slaves, ill treated by effeminate masters, and she soon fell a prey to the Suevi, the Goths, and the Vandals. After these latter came the Visigoths, who now began to settle themselves in Acquitain and Catalonia, while the Ostrogoths were subverting the Roman empire in Italy. These Ostrogoths and Visigoths were, as we know, outwardly Christians, but not of the Roman church, nor that of the eastern emperors, who reigned at that time, but of the communion which had been long received by the Greek church, and which believed in Jesus, but without admitting his equality with the Father. The Spaniards, on the contrary, were attached to the rites of the Roman church. Thus the conquerors and the conquered were of different faiths, which contributed to render the yoke of the latter more heavy. The dioceses were divided between Arian and Athanasian bishops, as in Italy; a division which still added to the suffering of the nation. The Visigoth kings wanted to do the same in Spain as we have seen done since in Italy by the Lombard king Lotharius, and which Constantine did at his accession to the throne of the empire, that is, to unite by a liberty of conscience people who were divided by their particular tenets.

Lovegildus, king of the Visigoths, was desirous of uniting those who were the advocates for consubstantiability, and those who were against it. His son Hermigeld rebelled against him.

him. There was at that time a petty king of the Suevi who was in poſſeſſion of the country of Galicia, and ſome places in its neighbourhood. The rebellious Hermigeld made an alliance with this prince, and for a long time carried on the war againſt his father. At length, after refuſing all invitations to return to his duty, he was defeated and taken priſoner in Cordova, where he was killed by one of his father's officers. The church of Rome has canonized him, regarding only that he fought for her religion, without conſidering that he made that religion a pretext for an unnatural rebellion againſt his father.

This memorable event happened in the year 584, and I relate it only as one of the many inſtances of the deplorable ſtate to which Spain was then reduced.

The kingdom of the Viſigoths was not hereditary. The biſhops, who had then the ſame authority in Spain which they acquired in France under the Carlovingian race, raiſed up and depoſed princes, and the leading men of the ſtate, at their pleaſure. This was another ſource of continual diſturbances; for example, they elected the baſtard Liuva, to the prejudice of his brothers born in lawful wedlock: and this Liuva having been aſſaſſinated by a Gothic captain, named Witteric, they choſe this Witteric to ſucceed him.

Wamba, one of the beſt of their kings, and of whom we have already ſpoken, having fallen ſick, was clad in ſackcloth, and ſubmitted to do public penance by the advice of the prieſt, as the only method of obtaining a cure: he received his cure, but afterwards was declared incapable

pable of exerciſing the kingly office, having done penance, and was ſhut up for ſeven days in a monaſtery. This precedent was quoted in France at the depoſition of Louis the Feeble.

The firſt Gothic conquerors who ſubjected Spain, did not ſuffer themſelves to be treated in this manner. They founded an empire which extended from Provence and Languedoc in Europe, to Ceuta and Tangiers in Africa; but this empire being badly governed, ſoon fell to ruin. There were ſo many rebellions in Spain, that at length king Wilika diſarmed his ſubjects, and diſmantled ſeveral towns. In ſo doing he compelled them to obedience, but deprived himſelf of their aſſiſtance. In order to gain the clergy on his ſide, he convoked an aſſembly of the nation, and made an edict, by which biſhops and prieſts were permitted to marry.

Id. page 83. and Note.

* * *

Id. page 185.] The conquerors of Xeres did not make an ill uſe of the ſucceſs of their arms. They left the conquered the full enjoyment of their poſſeſſions, laws, and worſhip, contenting themſelves with a tribute, and the honour of being maſters; and not only the widow of king Roderic eſpouſed young Abdalis; but after her example the Moors and Spaniards frequently mingled bloods. The latter, who had been ſcrupulouſly attached to their religion, quitted it in great numbers, in order to take the title of Moſarabians, which ſignified half Arabs, inſtead of that of Viſigoths, which their till then had borne. This name Moſa- had nothing in it mortifying to the vanquiſhed,

quiſhed, as the Arabians were the moſt gentle of all conquerors, and brought with them into Spain new arts and ſciences.

* * *

The title of Don is an abridgment of *Dominus*, a title which the Roman emperor Auguſtus thought too ambitious, becauſe it ſignified maſter. It was afterwards given to the Benedictine monks, then to the noblemen of Spain, and laſtly to the king of that country. The lords of fiefs then firſt began to aſſume the title of *ricos hombres* (i. e. *rich men*) rich ſignifying he who had great poſſeſſion in land, the only wealth the Spaniards had at that time. The dignity of grandee was not then known, and the title of great was not in uſe till three centuries afterwards, in the reign of Alphonſo, tenth of the name, king of Caſtille, at which time Spain began to be in a flouriſhing condition.

Of the GREEK EMPIRE.

Vol. I. chap. xix. page 199. BAſilius, who murdered the emperor Michael the Young, is the ſame who was thought juſt when he depoſed the patriarch Photius.

* * *

Id. 198, 199.] Did not the Switzers ſet fire to their villages and hamlets, in order to remove into Languedoc, when Cæſar compelled them to return and till their grounds? And what were Pharamond and Clovis but barbarians who had tranſplanted themſelves, and did not meet with a Cæſar?

Of PHOTIUS, &c.

Vol. I. chap. xxi. page 208, &c.

THE Greek church accuſed us of refuſing to learn the catechiſm, that we might not be Chriſtians.

A MONK whipped for the SAVING GRACE.

Idem, page 215.

IN the year 814 a Benedictine monk, whoſe name was John Godeſcald, having raiſed ſome trifling conteſt concerning predeſtination and grace, the event proved how dangerous it is to meddle with theſe matters, and eſpecially to diſpute againſt a powerful antagoniſt. The ſame monk having taken certain expreſſions of St. Paul and St. Auguſtine in too literal a ſenſe, thought proper to preach up the abſolute and eternal predeſtination of a few elect, and a great number of damned. Hincmar, archbiſhop of Rheims, a man as violent in church-matters, as in thoſe of ſtate, ſent for this monk, and told him that he was predeſtinated to be tried, condemned, and whipped; and accordingly he was excommunicated in one of the leſſer councils, held in the year 850, and then ſtripped naked in the preſence of the emperor Charles the Bald, and flogged by monks from his ſhoulders to his legs.

This trifling conteſt, in which both parties were equally in the wrong, has been but too much

much revived. In Holland you will find the ſynod of Dordrecht, which conſiſted of perſons who favoured the doctrine of Godeſcald, treating thoſe of Hincmar's ſect there worſe than with a ſimple flogging. Again, in France, you will find the Jeſuits of Hincmar's party perſecuteing to the utmoſt of their power the Janſeniſts, who were attached to the tenets of Godeſcald. Theſe diſputes will end only when the number of philoſophers ſhall exceed that of teachers.

Of the Emperor OTHO.

Vol. I. chap. xxvi. page 232. HOW could the emperor Otho, by an act confirming one made before by Charlemagne, beſtow the ſovereignty of Rome, which Charlemagne himſelf never beſtowed? How could he make a preſent of the duchy of Beneventum, of which he was not in poſſeſſion, and which at that time belonged to its own duke? How could he give away Corſica and Sicily, when thoſe iſlands were occupied by the Saracens? Either Otho muſt have been greatly deceived, or this act is ſpurious.

* * *

Vol. I. chap. xxv. page 231.] The imprudence of John XII. in inviting the Germans to Rome, proved the ſource of all thoſe troubles which Rome and Italy afterwards experienced.

Of

Of OTHO II. and III. and of ROME.

Vol. I. chap. xxvii.

NEver was Rome and the Latin church held in a more contemptible light at Conſtantinople than in theſe unhappy times. Leutprandus, ambaſſador from the emperor Otho I. to the emperor Nicephorus Phocas, tells us that the inhabitants of Rome were not called Romans, but Lombards, throughout the Imperial city, and the biſhops of Rome were looked upon only as a ſchiſmatic banditti. St. Peter's having dwelt at Rome, was conſidered as an abſurd fable, founded wholly on an expreſſion of that apoſtle in one of his epiſtles, where he ſays he had been at Babylon, which had been interpreted to mean Rome. The Saxon emperors were alſo held in as low eſteem at Conſtantinople, being looked upon as a ſet of barbarians.

And yet the court of Conſtantinople itſelf was very little ſuperior to that of the German emperors; but there were more trade, induſtry, and riches, in the Greek empire than in the Latin, for every thing had fallen to decay in the weſt ſince the glorious days of Charlemagne. Brutality, debauchery, anarchy and poverty, prevailed in every ſtate, and ignorance ſeemed to lord it with univerſal ſway, and yet we do not hear of a greater number of miracles in theſe days than in other times. Every age has had them, and it is only ſince the eſtabliſhing academies of arts and ſciences in Europe, and the people are become more enlightened, that we

no

no longer meet with them; or if, by chance, ſome do now and then make their appearance, ſound natural philoſophy ſoon reduces them to their real value.

HENRY I. of FRANCE, marries a RUSSIAN PRINCESS.

Vol. I. chap. xxix. page 251, 252.

WE do not know whether that Ruſſia, from which this princeſs came, was Black, Red, or White Ruſſia; whether this princeſs was born a Pagan, a Chriſtian, or a Greek; whether ſhe changed her religion when ſhe was married to the king of France; nor how in thoſe days, when all communication between the different nations and kingdoms of Europe was ſo very rare, the king of France came acquainted with a princeſs of the country of the antient Scythians; nor yet who propoſed this ſtrange match.

Of the STATE of FRANCE in the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries.

Idem, page 251, 252.

IN general, if we compare theſe two centuries with the preſent one, human nature will appear to have been then in its infancy, in every thing that reſpected government, religion, commerce, the arts and ſciences, and the rights of the people.

It was in particular aſtoniſhing to behold the abject and ſcandalous ſtate of the church of Rome,

Rome, and the power ſhe had over all minds in the midſt of her humiliation; the crowd of different popes created by the emperors; the ſlaviſh condition of thoſe pontiffs; their exorbitant power when they became maſters; and the great abuſe they made of that power. Silveſter II. who was the ſame Gerbert,

Id. p. 249. who made ſuch a noiſe on account of his learning in the tenth century, and was even thought to be a magician, becauſe he had learnt a little arithmetic and ſome few elements of Geometry from an Arabian: This man, I ſay, who had been preceptor to Otho III. was driven from his archbiſhoprick of Rheims, by king Robert, and afterwards created pope by Otho III. is ſtill reputed to have been a man of letters, and a wiſe pope. And yet Adhemar Chabanois, his cotemporary and admirer, tells us the following ſtory of him in his chronicle.

Guy, viſcount of Limoges, a French nobleman, had ſome diſpute with Grimoad, biſhop of Angoulême, touching certain rights belonging to the abbey of Brantome. The biſhop excommunicates the viſcount; and this latter impriſons the biſhop. Such violent proceedings were but too common all over Europe, where force held the place of law.

So great was the reverence paid to the ſee of Rome in theſe times of general anarchy, that the biſhop (after being releaſed from his confinement) and the viſcount both went from France, to plead their cauſe before pope Silveſter II. in [illegible]nſiſtory. When, who would believe it! [illegible]count was ſentenced to be drawn aſunder [illegible]ur horſes; which ſentence would moſt certainly

certainly have been executed upon him, had he not found means to make his escape. The outrages committed by this nobleman, in causing a bishop to be imprisoned who was not his subject; the penitence he expressed for the same; his submission to the authority of the Roman pontiff; and the sentence equally absurd and inhuman of the consistory, altogether form a most lively portrait of the character of those brutal and uncivilized times.

The CONQUEST of ENGLAND by WILLIAM DUKE of NORMANDY.

Vol. I. chap. xxxii. page 270.

THE monks tell us, that Edward was the first king in Europe who had the gift of curing the king's evil. He had already restored sight to seven or eight blind persons; when a poor woman who was attacked with an obstruction, applied to him for relief, and he cured her instantly by touching her, and making the sign of the cross; so that from a state of barrenness, she afterwards became the mother of children. The kings of England ever afterwards arrogated this healing power to themselves; they did not indeed pretend to make the barren fruitful, or to restore sight to the blind; but to touch for the king's evil, which they frequently did without curing them.

St. Lewis, king of France, as lord paramount over the kings of England, touched likewise for the king's evil; and his successors preserved the

ame right. William III. of England neglected it; and the time will come, when reaſon having made a little more progreſs in France, will totally aboliſh this cuſtom there.

* * *

Id. page 271.] The cuſtom of keeping a number of concubines, authoriſed throughout all the eaſt, and by the Jewiſh law, was prohibited in the goſpel diſpenſation. Nevertheleſs, general practice ſtill gave a ſanction to it; and ſo far was it from being conſidered as a matter of ſhame, that William the Conqueror frequently uſed to ſign *William the Baſtard.* There is ſtill a letter of his extant, written to Allen, count of Brittany, with this ſignature. Baſtards frequently ſhared in the inheritance left by their father; for in all countries where men were not governed by fixed laws, it is certain that the will of the prince would always be the reigning code.

* * *

Id. page 273.] The old chronicles tell us, an eſquire named *Taillefer* or *Cut-Iron*, being at the head of the Norman army on horſeback, ſang forth the famous ſong of Roland, which was ſo long in the mouth of every Frenchman and of which there is not the leaſt fragment remaining. This fame Taillefer, after ſinging this ſong, in which he was accompanied by all the army, clapped ſpurs to his horſe, and rode into the midſt of the Engliſh forces, where he was preſently cut in pieces.

* * *

Ibid.] Some writers term the crowning of William a free election; an act of authority of the parliament of England. It is indeed the authority

ithority of ſlaves, trained to war, who grant ieir maſters the liberty of ſcourging them.

William having received a conſecrated ban-er from the pope, when he ſate out on his En-liſh expedition, in return now ſent his holineſs ie banner of king Harold, who had been ſlain i the battle, and a ſmall ſhare of the ſmall reaſure, which a king of England in thoſe imes could be ſuppoſed to be poſſeſſed of. This was a conſiderable preſent however for ope Alexander II. who was ſtill diſputing his ee with Honorius II. and who, in conſequence f a long civil war in Rome, was reduced to a tate of indigence. Thus a Barbarian, the ſon f a proſtitute, and the murderer of a lawful ing, divides the ſpoils of that king with ano-ther barbarian; for, take away the titles of duke of Normandy, king of England and pope, and we ſhall have only the action of a Norman thief, and a Lombard receiver; and to this, in fact, may every kind of uſurpation be re-duced.

Of the STATE of EUROPE in the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries.

Vol. I. chap. cxxiii. page 177.

THE dukes of Muſcovy were not at that time called czars or tſars, or tchards; nor did they aſſume this title till after they became maſters of thoſe countries about Caſan, which belonged to certain Tſars. Tſar is a Sclavoniſh term, taken from the Perſian language; and in the Sclavonian bible, king David is called Tſar David.

* * *

Id. page 279.] Albert, ſurnamed the Great, made a journey into Poland, purpoſely to root out their ſhocking cuſtoms; but it was a conſiderable time before he could ſucceed. All the reſt of the nation lived after a manner equally ſavage, the true ſtate of human nature, before it had been changed by art.

Of SPAIN, and of the MOORS.

Vol. I. chap. xxiv. page 286.

WE are not told whether the Cid's wife Chimene ‡ embraced the Chriſtian religion. The Moors at that time paſſed for a people of great conſequence; and an alliance with them was deemed an high honour. The ſurname Rodriguez was Mooriſh; and it is from hence that the Spaniards were called *Maranas*.

* * *

Id. page 27.] It was from the middle to the latter end of the eleventh century, that the Cid rendered himſelf ſo famous in Europe. This was the golden age of chivalry, but at the ſame time was the æra of the inſolent attempts of Gregory VII. of the misfortunes of Germany, and of the firſt cruſade.

‡ Or Ximena.

Of RELIGION and SUPERSTITION in the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries.

Vol. I. chap. xxxv. page 291, 292.

THOSE who were called Manicheans, and those who were afterwards named Albigenses, Vaudois, Lollards, and who appeared so often under different names, were remnants of the first Gaulish christians, who were attached to several antient customs, which the church of Rome thought proper to alter afterwards; as likewise to certain vague opinions, which that same church adopted in process of time; for example, these primitive Christians knew nothing of image-worship. They had never been enjoined auricular confession. We must not suppose, that, in the time of Clovis, or these preceding his reign, the inhabitants of the Alps were adepts in the dogma of transubstantiation, and such like. In the eighth century, Claude, archbishop of Turin, adopted most of those opinions which at present constitute what is called the protestant religion, and pretended that they were those of the primitive church. There is almost always a small flock separated from the principal one; and from the beginning of the eleventh century, this small flock was butchered or dispersed, whenever it attempted to shew its head.

* * *

Id. page 294, 295. "It is evident" says "Ratram, "that the bread and wine do not "undergo any change, and therefore they "must be the *same* that they were at first;"

and concludes with this quotation from St. gustin, "That the bread which is called "body, and the wine which is called the bl "are emblems, because the whole is a "stery."

In whatever manner Ratram himself, others, might understand this, they wrote ag him. And much about the same time anc Benedictine monk, named Pascasius Rath passed for the first person who had explained general opinion in express terms, by say "That the bread was the real body of our L "which was brought forth by the Virgin; "[illegible] mixed with the water, the [illegible] from his side, absolu [illegible] This dispute gave [illegible] or Stercoran [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] the controv and [illegible] that the chu [illegible] the ceremony of elevating the h the people in having the object of th [illegible]

ion before their eyes, might no longer
of its reality, which had been ſo warmly
ed. But the term tranſubſtantiation was
nexed to this myſtery, nor adopted till the
215, at the council of Lateran.

e opinion of Scotus, Ratram and Berenger,
ot entirely buried, but was preſerved by
of the clergy, from whom it was tranſ-
l to, and received by the Vaudois, the
enſes, the followers of Hus, and the pro-
ts, as we ſhall ſee hereafter.

u may have obſerved, that in all the diſ-
which have armed the Chriſtians againſt
other, ſince the firſt riſe of their church,
e of Rome has always ſided with that doc-
which tended the moſt to degrade the hu-
underſtanding, and obſcure the light of
. I here ſpeak only as an hiſtorian; I
ide the inſpiration and infallibility of the
h, which make no part of hiſtory. It is
n, that, in making marriage a ſacrament,
endered conjugal fidelity a greater virtue,
dultery a more heinous crime; and that
culcating the belief of the real preſence of
in the bread and wine which were taken
he ſtomach, they filled the mind of the
unicants with a more reverential awe for
yſtery of the Euchariſt. What reverence
ot due to thoſe, who could with a few
change a common aliment into the di-
ature, and eſpecially for the chief of a
n that could operate ſuch a prodigy?
human reaſon, left to itſelf, began to
ne this myſtery, the object of former vene-
became leſſened in the general eſteem;
e multiplicity of prieſts, by rendering this

miracle too common, made it at length lef respected by the people.

And here we must not forget the custom which began to be introduced in the eleventh century, of buying off the punishments of the dead, by the alms and prayers of the living and freeing their souls from purgatory, and the establishing a solemn festival for this act of piety.

The opinion of a purgatory, as well as that of an hell, is of the most antient date; but it is no where so clearly expressed, as in the sixth book of Virgil's Æneid, in which we meet with most of the mysteries of the religion of the Gentiles. The passage I mean is the following.

Ergo exercentur pœnis, veterumque malorum
Supplicia expendunt, &c.

This notion was by degrees adopted and sanctified by the professors of christianity; and some carried it so far as to believe that we might by prayer change the decrees of providence and obtain of God the immediate salvation of souls condemned to undergo a temporary punishment in the next life.

Cardinal Peter Damien, the same who relates the story of king Robert's queen being delivered of a monster, tells us, that a pilgrim, in his return from a voyage to Jerusalem, was cast by a tempest on a desert island, where he found an old hermit, who told him that the island was inhabited only by devils, and that the neighbourhood of his cottage was entirely covered with flames, into which the devils used to cast the souls of the dead; and that these flames never were incessantly crying and howling. Saint Odilon, abbot of Cluni, who was their mortal enemy

iemy, and whoſe prayers, they ſaid, with thoſe his monks, robbed them of ſome ſoul almoſt ery day.

This relation being made to Odilon, he in-tuted the feſtival of the dead (or *fête des rts* *) in his convent. The principles of hu-anity and piety, which conſtitute the baſis of is inſtitution, may in ſome meaſure ſerve as an cuſe for the fable of the pilgrim. The church on adopted this ſolemnity, and made it an bligatory one. Great indulgences were an-exed to thoſe who offered up prayers for the ead; and if it had ſtopt there, it would have een an act of devotion; but it ſoon degene-ated into an abuſe. Theſe indulgences were old at an extravagant price, and the mendicant riars in particular made people pay for taking the ſouls of their friends out of purgatory. No-thing was talked of but apparitions of deceaſed perſons, who complained that their ſouls were ſuffering in purgatory, and requiring them to be releaſed, with denunciations of ſudden death, and eternal puniſhment, to thoſe who refuſed to perform this duty. In a word, fraud and extor-tion ſucceeded to pious credulity; and this was one of the reaſons which in proceſs of time loſt the church of Rome one half of Europe.

* * *

Id. page 299.] The reverence paid to the ass, was in commemoration of that on which our Saviour made his entry into Jeruſalem.

* Thi feſtival is with us called All Soul's day, and is held on the ſecond of November.

REFLECTIONS on the EMPEROR HENRY IV.

Vol. II. chap. 36. page 19. LET us ſtop for an inſtant to contemplate the exhumated corpſe of that famous emperor Henry IV. a prince ſtill more unfortunate than Henry IV. king of France. Let us examine whence came ſuch repeated humiliations and misfortunes on the one hand; and on the other, ſuch a bold exertion of power, ſo many ſhocking actions deemed holy, ſo many crowned heads made the victims of religion; and we ſhall find that the true cauſe of all theſe calamities and diſorders, was in the common people, who are always the foremoſt to arm the hands of ſuperſtition. It was on account of the blackſmiths and butchers of Germany, that this emperor appeared barefooted before

Id. page 10 and 11. the biſhop of Rome. It is the common people who, always ſlaves to ſuperſtition themſelves, are for having their maſters loaded with the ſame yoke. When once a prince ſuffers his ſubjects to be blinded by fanaticiſm, they will ſoon oblige him to appear as fanatic as themſelves; and if he attempts to throw off the bondage which they are ſo fond of wearing, they will rebel againſt him. Though he may perhaps imagine that the more weighty he makes the chains of religion (which ever ought to be light and gentle) the more ſubmiſſive his people will be; the event will ſhew he has been miſtaken, and that his ſubjects make uſe of thoſe very chains to bind him

on

on his throne, and even to drag him from it.

Of FREDERICK BARBAROSSA.

Vol. II. chap. 38. page 26.

THIS emperor promiſed that he would attempt nothing againſt the life, the perſon, nor the honour of the popes, the cardinals, or the magiſtrates; and the pope, on his ſide, took the ſame oath to the emperor and his officers. Such was at that time the ſtate of the weſtern part of Chriſtendom, that the two principal perſonages of this little portion of the world, one of whom boaſted himſelf the ſucceſſor of the Cæſars, and the other of Jeſus Chriſt, were both obliged to take an oath to each other, that they would not be aſſaſſins during the time of the ceremony. A knight completely armed took this oath to pope Adrian IV. in the emperor's name; and the pontiff took his oath in the preſence of the knight.

The crowning or conſecrating of a pope, was at that time attended with as extraordinary ceremonies, and which partook more of ſimplicity than barbariſm. The pontiff elect was ſeated on a cloſe-ſtool called the *Stercorarium*, and afterwards on a marble chair, where they preſented him with the two keys; from thence he was removed to a third chair, where he was preſented with twelve coloured ſtones. All theſe cuſtoms have been aboliſhed by time, by which they were firſt introduced. When the emperor Frederick had taken the above oath,

the pope then went to meet him ſome miles from Rome.

* * *

Id. page 31, 32, 33.] The Germans always wanted to be maſters in Italy, and the Italians were always determined to ſupport their liberties. And moſt certainly they had a more natural right to that liberty, than any German could have to be their maſter.

The Milaneſe ſet the example. The citizens become ſoldiers, ſurprized a party of the emperor's troops near Lodi, and defeated them. Had they been ſeconded by the other cities, Italy would have put on a new face. But Frederick had time to recruit his army.

* * *

Id. page 34.] The election of a pope had been always attended with a civil war for upwards of two centuries.

The FEUDAL LAW, which obliged the Liege-Man to march againſt his Sovereign, in the Service of his Lord.

Vol. II. chap. xl. page 39. THE emperor Frederick Barbaroſſa abolished this law in the year 1158: A law which had been eſtabliſhed by cuſtom, and which that cuſtom ſtill maintained in the empire, notwithſtanding all his care, whenever the great vaſſals were powerful enough to make war againſt their prince. It remained in full force in France, till the extinction of the houſe of Burgundy. In England the feudal government

ſoon

ſoon gave place to the liberty of the ſubject; and in Spain it ſubmitted to the abſolute power of the ſovereign.

In the beginning of the race of Hugues or Hugh, commonly called the Capetian race, from a nick-name given to that king, all the little vaſſals were in arms againſt the great; and the kings of France were frequently at war with the barons of the dutchy of France. The race of the antient Daniſh pirates who reigned in Normandy and England, always countenanced theſe diſſentions; on which account Lewis the Fat, found ſo much difficulty in reducing the ſieur de Couci, the baron de Corbeil, the ſieur de Montleri, and another ſieur of the village of Puiſet, the lord of Baudouin and of Chateaufort; and we find that he did not dare to condemn, or put to death theſe rebellious vaſſals. Things are greatly changed in France ſince that time.

England, from the time of Henry I. was governed in the ſame manner as France. In the reign of Stephen, ſon to Henry I. they reckoned no leſs than one thouſand fortified caſtles or ſtrong holds in England. The kings of France and England could do nothing then without the conſent and aſſiſtance of a number of barons; and theſe times were, as we have ſeen, the reign of anarchy and confuſion.

DIVORCE between LEWIS the Young, and his Queen ELEANOR.

Idem, page 40. THIS divorce makes one of the greateſt objects of the common law, which hiſtorians ought to have well underſtood. The marriage was diſſolved at Beaujenci, by a council of biſhops, on the idle pretext that Eleanor was ſecond couſin to Lewis; and moreover, the Gaſcoon lords were obliged to make oath, that the married couple were within the decrees of conſanguinity, as if the truth of ſuch a relationſhip could not be known but by an oath. It is very certain that this marriage was null, according to the ſuperſtitious laws of thoſe times of ignorance. But if the marriage was null, the two daughters who were born of that marriage muſt have been baſtards; and yet they were both married afterwards as legitimate daughters of Lewis; and of conſequence the marriage of their mother Eleanor was reputed valid, notwithſtanding the deciſion of the council. The council then did not pronounce this marriage null, but only declared it to be diſſolved, and a divorce; and in the whole proceedings the king never once accuſed his wife of adultery. Therefore it was in fact a divorce in full council upon the moſt frivolous motive.

It remains to know how, agreeable to the rules of the Chriſtian religion, Eleanor and Lewis could again be married to each other. St Matthew and St. Luke declare plainly, that a man cannot marry after having put away his forme-

former wife; nor can any man marry a woman who has been ſo put away by her huſband. This law was delivered from the mouth of Chriſt himſelf, and yet it has never been obſerved. What a ſource for excommunications, interdicts, commotions and wars; had the popes then intermeddled in ſuch an affair with which they have ſince ſo frequently concerned themſelves!

* * *

Id. page 45.] While Thomas Becket was in France, he excommunicated ſeveral of the lords of Henry's privy council; and wrote in the following manner to that prince. "It is true "that I owe you reſpect as my king, but at the "ſame time I owe you chaſtiſement as my "ſpiritual ſon." And in the ſame letter he threatens him with being changed into a beaſt like Nebuchadnezzar; though there does not ſeem to have been any great reſemblance between Henry and the king of Babylon.

HENRY II. KING of ENGLAND.

Idem, page 46. THIS king made the conqueſt of Ireland, in the year 1172. It was at that time a ſavage country, and had been ſubdued in part by the earl of Pembroke, with only 1200 men. This nobleman wanted to ſecure his conqueſt; but the king being ſtronger than him, and being moreover furniſhed with a bull from the pope, eaſily made himſelf maſter of the whole iſland, which ever afterwards remained under the Engliſh dominion; though in a *barren, poor* and uſeleſs condition, till

till towards the end of the eighteenth century; when agriculture, manufactures, arts and ſciences, have been all carried to perfection there; ſo that Ireland, though a conquered country, is become one of the moſt flouriſhing provinces in Europe.

JOHN LACKLAND.

Idem, page 50. WHO were the peers of France, that paſſed ſentence of death on the king of England? They could not be the clergy, for they cannot aſſiſt on a trial upon life and death. We are not told that there was at that time in Paris a count of Toulouſe, a count of Flanders, or a duke of Burgundy. The accuſed perſon was himſelf duke of Guyenne and Normandy. The aſſembly of the peers was compoſed of barons, holding immediately of the crown. This is a point of great importance, which our hiſtorians ought to have well examined, inſtead of amuſing themſelves with drawing up armies in battle array, or tiring our patience with relations of ſieges of caſtles that no longer exiſt.

LEWIS VIII. KING of ENGLAND.

Vol. II. chap. xl. page 60, 61. THIS king did not long keep poſſeſſion of the Engliſh throne. The people of England who had a liking to Henry, afterwards Henry III. obliged Lewis to reſtore to that

hat prince the crown which he had taken from his father John. Thus Lewis was only made uſe of by them as a ſcourge to chaſtiſe a monarch who had diſpleaſed them. The pope's legate, who was then in London, dictated as maſter the conditions on which Lewis was to quit England; and, after having excommunicated that prince for preſuming to keep poſſeſſion of the throne againſt his holineſs's decree, compelled him to do penance for the ſame, by keeping a tenth of two years of his revenue; his officers were taxed at a twentieth; and his chaplains, who had come with him out of France, were obliged to go to Rome to aſk abſolution, which they did; and were ordered as a puniſhment, to appear at the door of the cathedral church at Paris, at the four great feaſts in the year, barefooted, and in their ſheets, with each a diſcipline in his hand, with which he was to be flogged by the canons. It is ſaid that they actually performed a part of this penance.

This incredible tranſaction paſſed in the reign of a courageous and able king, Philip-Auguſtus, who ſuffered, without murmuring, this indignity to be put upon his nation and his own ſon; ſo that the victor of Bouvines could not be ſaid to have ended his career with glory.

* * *

Id. page 61.] This is the proper place to controvert a ſtrange ſtory, which has been told by all our hiſtorians, and which is as follows: Lewis VIII. being ill of a dangerous malady, his phyſicians thought that there were no means left to ſave his life, but the uſe of women. Accordingly a young girl was conveyed into the

wife ſome palm-trees here and there; and this country, which the Jews made habitable after infinite pains and labour, was to them a paradiſe, in compariſon with the deſerts of Porain and Cades-Borne.

St. Jerome, who lived ſo long in Bethlehem, acknowledges, that they were troubled with continual droughts in that barren, rocky, and ſandy country, where it ſeldom or never rains, and where there are no ſprings or fountains; the want of which, the natives are obliged to ſupply by vaſt ciſterns, at a prodigious expence.

Of the FIRST CRUSADE.

Vol. II. chap. xliv. page 82, &c.

ANTIQUITY had never beheld an inſtance of emigrations, from one part of the world to another, ſet on foot by religious enthuſiaſm. This epidemic madneſs now made its appearance for the firſt time, in order that there might be no ſcourge, with which mankind had not been afflicted.

* * *

Id. page 90.] A certain French count, having had the inſolence to ſeat himſelf by the ſide of the emperor Alexis Comnenes, and being aſked by that prince's order, who he was, made this anſwer. "I am deſcended of a right noble family. When in my own country, I went every day to the church which is in my own lordſhip, where were aſſembled all the brave lords who had vowed to fight Chriſt, and who prayed to Jeſus Chriſt and "the

Of FREDERICK II.

Vol. II. chap. xlii. page 70. IT was upon a letter of pope Gregory IX. that it was believed in thoſe times *, that there really was a book entitled *De tribus Impoſtoribus* (of the three impoſtors.) This book has been ſought for in every age, and has never yet been found.

Of PALESTINE.

Vol. II. chap. xlii. page 80, 81. ALL the country to the ſouthward of the Mediterranean and of Egypt, from Eſongeber to the Red Sea, is nothing but a collection of ſandy deſarts, or hideous mountains. Theſe rocks and ſands, which are now inhabited by a ſet of Arabian freebooters, made the ancient country of the Jews. They afterwards extended themſelves a little northward into Arabia Petræa. The ſmall country of Jericho, which they invaded, was one of the beſt they poſſeſſed; the ſoil of Jeruſalem being much more dry and parched, and not having the advantage of being ſituated on a river. There is very little paſture in this country, ſo that the inhabitants not being able to find food for horſes, are obliged to make uſe of aſſes as their only beaſts of carriage. Their oxen are very poor, but ſheep thrive a little better; they have olive-trees in ſome places, which produce tolerable fruit. There are like-

† In the Thirteenth Century.

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" the holy Virgin, to be favourable to them ;
" but not one of them would fight with me."

The TAKING of JERUSALEM.

Idem, page 94. ELMACIM writes, that at the taking of Jeruſalem in 1099, the conqueror ſhut up all the Jews found in the place, within the ſynagogues which had been granted them by the Turks ; and ſetting fire to it, every ſoul periſhed in the flames. This action may be credited after the horrible cruelties they exerciſed upon this unhappy people in their march.

CRUSADES after the TAKING of JERUSALEM.

Vol. II. chap. xlv. page 104. IN the year 1148, Lewis the Young, whether he thought himſelf in danger from the Turks, or the prince of Antioch's troops, took his wife away privately from that city, and went with her to Jeruſalem ; by which he had at leaſt the ſatisfaction of fulfilling the vow he had made, and of telling St. Bernard, that he had ſeen Bethlehem and Nazareth. But during this journey, the few troops he had left were beaten and diſperſed on all ſides ; and at length, three thouſand of the French deſerted in a body, and turned Mahometants to keep themſelves from ſtarving. Id. page 101.

Of

OF SALADIN.

[illegible] THE Christians were yet * in possession of Jerusalem, and disputing with the Turks and Tartars [illegible] Syria. While Europe was [illegible] war, while Andronicus [illegible] the tottering throne of [illegible] murder of his nephew, [illegible] Barbarossa and the popes [illegible] produced one of [illegible] which should make [illegible] and reflect upon [illegible] an earthquake more [illegible] than that in 1755, ruined [illegible] Syria, and also this petty [illegible] The earth opened in [illegible] allowed up [illegible] told by their [illegible] God upon the [illegible] were taught to [illegible] this man- [illegible] parties con- [illegible] on the ruins of [illegible]

* * *

[illegible] that the em- [illegible] thousand marks [illegible] King [illegible] marks [illegible] of mo- ney, [illegible] which

* [illegible]

England

England in thoſe days was not able to furniſh: it was more likely an hundred thouſand *Marques* or *Marcas*, that is, about an hundred thouſand of our preſent crowns.

* * *

Id. page 113.] The Chriſtians who followed Baldwin count of Flanders directed their Cruſade againſt the chief of the Chriſtian religion *.

Of the taking of CONSTANTINOPLE.

Idem, page 114, &c. THE empire of Conſtantinople, which had ſtill the title of the Roman empire, was ſtill in poſſeſſion of all Greece, the Archipelago and Epirus, and its dominion in Europe extended as far as Belgrade and Walachia. It diſputed the remains of Aſia Minor againſt the Arabians, the Turks, and the Cruſades, and the arts and ſciences were conſtantly cultivated in the capital of the empire. It had an uninterrupted ſucceſſion of hiſtorians, till the time that Mahomet II. made himſelf maſter of it. Theſe hiſtorians were either emperors, princes, or ſtateſmen, but were not therefore better writers. They talk wholly of religion, diſguiſe facts, and aim only at a flow of words, and preſerve nothing of the ancient Greek ſtile but its loquacity. Controverſy was the favourite ſtudy of the court. The emperor Manuel, in the 12th century, had a long diſpute with his biſhops on the

† Pope Innocent III.

words,

words, "My Father is greater than I," while he was threatened by the Crusaders and the Turks. There was a Greek catechism which anathematized, in the severest manner, that well known verse in the Alcoran, which says, "that God "is an infinite Being, who has neither begot "nor has been begotten of any one." Manuel was for taking this anathema taken out of the catechism. These disputes signalized and enfeebled his reign; but observe how cautiously Manuel acted with regard to the Mussulmen in this dispute. He was not willing that the Greek catechism should offer so great an insult to a victorious people, who acknowledged only one incommunicable God, and were greatly offended at our doctrine of the Trinity.

Alexis Manuel, the son of this emperor, who had married a daughter of Lewis the Young, king of France, was dethroned by Andronicus, one of his own relations. This Andronicus was himself afterwards deposed by an officer of his palace, named Isaac Angelus, dragged through the streets of the capital, had one of his ears cut off, his eyes put out, and afterwards blows were given over his body, till he expired in the most excessive agonies.

Isaac Angelus, who punished an usurper with so much barbarity, was himself stripped of the crown by his own brother, Alexis Angelus, who ordered his eyes to be put out. This Alexis Angelus took the name of Comnenus, the name always related to the imperial family of that name. It was this emperor who was the cause of the taking of Constantinople by the Crusaders.

The

he Franciſcans. The young men and boys have othing on them but a pair of drawers, which do ot fall lower than the upper part of their ighs, and the women and girls wear an under-etticoat full as ſhort. The proceſſion has a onſiderable diſtance to march, and they ſtop everal times by the way.

Of SAINT LEWIS.

Vol. I. chap. xlvi. page 127. THE greateſt part of the large ſhips of burthen, in which the troops of St. Lewis were tranſported, were built in the ports of France. They were 1800 in number. A king of France could not fit out ſuch an armament in theſe days, by reaſon that timber of all kinds is beyond compariſon dearer, all the concomitant expences greater in proportion, and the artillery which is now uſed, and becomes a neceſſary part of the equipment, ſtill enhances the expence and difficulty of fitting out ſo numerous a fleet.

Of GENGIS-CAN.

Vol. II. chap. xlviii. page 142.—146. THE Chineſe author who has written the conqueſts of Gengis-Can, and whoſe work has been tranſlated by father Gaubel, aſſures us, that the Tartars had not the leaſt knowledge of the art of writing; this art was wholly unknown to all the people between the province of Archangel and the Great

Wall; as likewiſe to the Celtes, the Bretons, the Germans, the Scandinavians, and all the natives of Africa on the other ſide of mount Atlas. The uſe of tranſmitting to poſterity the ſeveral articulations of ſpeech, and the ideas of the mind, was one of the great refinements of ſociety, improved and known only to ſome nations more highly civilized than others, and was never univerſally known even among thoſe nations. The Tartars delivered their laws by oral tradition, and had no ſymbols to perpetuate the memory of them.

* * *

The Greeks, and before them the Aſiatics, were frequently accuſtomed to give the name of Sons of God to their defenders or legiſlators, and even to ſucceſsful or victorious robbers. In all the ages of ignorance divine honours were laviſhly paid to whoever inſtructed, ſerved, or oppreſſed the reſt of mankind.

* * *

The monks who travelled thro' Tartary, in the thirteenth century, tell us, that Gengis-Can and his ſons governed their Tartars with abſolute ſway; but can it be ſuppoſed that armed conquerors, who, in conjunction with their chief went in ſearch of plunder, to be equally ſhared between them; men, by nature robuſt, free, and uſed to a wandering life, making the ſnow their bed in winter, and the dewy fields their couch in ſummer, would ſuffer themſelves to be treated like beaſts of burthen by their leaders? This was far from being the diſpoſition of the people of the north. The Alands, the Huns, the Gepidæ, the Turks, the Goths, and the Franks, were the companions

he Franciſcans. The young men and boys have nothing on them but a pair of drawers, which do not fall lower than the upper part of their thighs, and the women and girls wear an under-petticoat full as ſhort. The proceſſion has a conſiderable diſtance to march, and they ſtop ſeveral times by the way.

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Of MAINFROY, or MANFREDDO, &c.

Vol. II. chap. xlix. page 157.

THE emperor Conrad IV. was accuſed of having poiſoned his ſon Henry. You will find that in all ages the ſuſpicion of poiſoning was always more common than the fact itſelf.

The homage paid to the court of Rome for the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily, was one ſource of the calamities which befel thoſe provinces, and the imperial houſes of Suabia, and of Anjou, which latter, after having ſtripped the lawful heirs of their right, periſhed itſelf in a miſerable manner. This homage was at firſt nothing more than a pious and artful ceremony introduced by the Norman conquerors, who, after the example of many other princes, put their dominions under the protection of the church, in order to ſtop, if poſſible, by the dread of excommunication, the proceedings of thoſe who wanted to take from them what they had uſurped. The Popes ſoon converted this oblation into an homage, and though not maſters in Rome, they were lords paramount of the Two Sicilies.

be able to conquer the whole habitable globe. With this view Coblai-Can, after having made himself master of China, sent an army of 100,000 men, on board of a thousand vessels called junks, to make the conquest of Japan, and another son of Gengis, named Batou Shah, penetrated as far as the frontiers of Italy. Pope Celestine IV. sent four monks to him in the quality of ambassadors, the only set of people who would have accepted such a commission. Father Asselin says, that he could only be admitted to speak to one of the Tartarian captains, who gave him the following letter for his holiness:

"If thou wouldst continue on the face of the "earth, come and do homage to us. If thou "obeyest not, we know what will be the con- "sequence. Send new deputies to us, to inform "us whether thou wilt be our vassal or our ene- "my."

* * *

The race of Gengis-Can continued a long time in China, under the name of Iven. It is to be believed that the science of astronomy, for which the Chinese were so famous, fell greatly to decay during these revolutions; for after these times we find none but Mahometan astronomers in China, and they had almost always the care of regulating the calendar, till the arrival of the Jesuits in that empire. This is perhaps one reason of the mediocrity of the Chinese in this respect.

This is the whole of what is necessary for us to know concerning the Tartars in these distant ages. Here we meet with no civil nor canon law; no division between the throne, the altar,

the

the courts of juſtice; no council, no univerſities, nor any of thoſe inſtitutions which have improved or over-loaded ſociety among us. The Tartars left their deſarts about the year 1212, and in the year 1236 had conquered one half of the hemiſphere. This is all their hiſtory.

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The emperor Frederick II. when he died, left Naples and Sicily in the moſt flouriſhing condition, and left behind him as monuments of his reign, wiſe laws properly enforced, new cities built, the capital beautified, and the arts and ſciences in high eſteem *. The kingdom was to have devolved to the emperor Conrad, his ſon. We do not know whether Manfreddo or Manfred, as we call him, was the lawful ſon or baſtard of Frederick; but the emperor ſeems to have conſidered him in the former light in his will, by which he gave him Tarentum and ſeveral other principalities in ſovereignty, appoints him regent of the kingdom during the abſence of Conrad, and declares him his ſucceſſor in caſe of the death of Conrad, and his ſon Henry, without iſſue. So far every thing appeared well ſettled on a peaceable footing; but the Italians never yielded a voluntary obedience to any prince of German extraction. The Popes hated the houſe of Suabia, and wanted to drive them out of Italy, and the factions of the Guelphs and Gibelines ſtill continued as ſtrong as ever all over Italy.

The famous Pope Innocent II. who had depoſed the emperor Frederick II. at Lyons, that is to ſay, who had the inſolence to declare him incapable of reigning †, did not fail on this occaſion to aſſert that the children of an excommunicated pagan could not ſucceed to the poſſeſſions of their father.

Innocent then quitted Lyons, in order to haſten to the frontiers of Naples, in order to ex-

* See vol. xxi. (xvi of the proſe works) page 23.
† See vol. xxi. (xvi of the proſe works) page 20.

hort

hott the barons not to yield obedience to Manfred. This pontiff fought only with the arms of opinion; and you have ſeen what dangerous weapons theſe were. Manfred did not dare to truſt the barons, who were all devotees, factious, and declared enemies to the houſe of Suabia. There were ſtill ſome Saracens remaining in Apulia. His father, the emperor Frederick II. had always kept a guard compoſed of theſe Mahometans; the city of Lucera, or Nocera, was full of them, inſomuch that it got the ſirname of *Lucera di Pagani*, or the city of infidels, tho' the Mahometans were far from deſerving this title which the Italians gave them. No people in the world ever had leſs of what is called paganiſm in their belief, or were more ſtrongly attached to the worſhip of one pure God; but the term infidel, or pagan, had rendered Frederick II. odious, on account of the number of Arabians he employed in his armies, and made Manfred ſtill more ſo. Nevertheleſs this latter, with the aſſiſtance of his Mahometans, quelled the revolt, and kept the whole kingdom in awe, the city of Naples excepted, who acknowledged Innocent as its only maſter. This pontiff pretended that the Two Sicilies had devolved to him, and were become his property in virtue of the words he pronounced when he depoſed Frederick II. and his family at the council of Lyons. The emperor Conrad arrives in perſon to defend his inheritance. He takes the city of Naples; the pope flies to Genoa, his native country, where he contents himſelf with offering the kingdom to prince Richard, brother of Henry III. king of England, a prince who was not in a condition to fit out a ſingle veſſel, and

who thanked his holineſs for his dangerous preſent, without accepting it.

The unavoidable diſſenſions between Conrad, a German king, and Manfred, an Italian, did the court of Rome more ſervice than either the politics or the anathemas of the pope. Conrad died, and it was pretended, as I have obſerved, that he was poiſoned. The papal ſee gave credit to the report. Conrad left the crown of Naples to an infant of only ſeven years of age. This was the unfortunate Conradine, whom we ſhall ſee come to a tragical end. Conradine was in Germany; Manfred was ambitious: he cauſed a report to be ſpread that the young king was dead, and made the people take an oath to him as regent, in caſe Conradine was alive, and as king if he was dead. Innocent had always on his ſide in the kingdom the faction of the Guelphs, the ſworn enemies of the imperial race, and alſo the ſtrength of his excommunications. He declares himſelf king of the Two Sicilies, and grants certain inveſtitures in that quality. Here, then, we at length ſee the popes become kings of that country which was conquered by Norman gentlemen. However, their royalty was but of ſhort duration; the pope had an army, but as he knew not how to command it, he put one of his legates at its head; but Manfred, and his Mahometans, with ſome barons, who were not quite ſo ſcrupulous as the reſt, routed the legate and the pontifical army.

It was in this ſituation of affairs that pope Innocent, finding that he could not get poſſeſſion of the kingdom of Naples for himſelf, bethought him of offering to the count of Anjou,

jou, brother to St. Lewis, a crown of which he had no right to diſpoſe, nor the count to accept. But the pope died in the very beginning of this negotiation; and ſuch is generally the end of all thoſe ambitious projects, which torment and perplex the life of man.

Innocent IV. was ſucceeded in the pontifical chair by Alexander IV. (Rinaldo de Signi) who adopted all the views of his predeceſſor. He could not however prevail on the brother of St. Lewis, the French king, to enter into his meaſures. That monarch had unfortunately exhauſted his kingdom by his laſt cruſade, and his ranſom while in Egypt, and was ſpending what little he had left in rebuilding the walls of ſome towns on the coaſt of Paleſtine, which were in a ſhort time afterwards demoliſhed again by the chriſtians.

Pope Alexander IV. began his pontificate by ſummoning Manfred to appear before him. This he had a right to do by the feudal law, that prince being his vaſſal; but as this right went always with the ſtrongeſt, it was not to be ſuppoſed that a vaſſal, powerful in arms, would appear at the ſummons of his lord. Alexander was at Naples, into which he had gained admittance by his intrigues, and from thence he treated with his vaſſals who were in Apulia. Manfred deſired his holineſs to ſend a cardinal to treat with him. The pope's council determined, *id non convenire ſanctæ ſedis honori, ut cardinales iſto modo mittentur*; "that it was not "agreeable to the honour of the holy ſee to "ſend cardinals in that manner."

The civil war then was continued. The pope publiſhed a cruſade againſt Manfred, in the ſame

manner as they had been publiſhed againſt the Muſſulmen, the emperors, and the Albigenſes. It is a conſiderable diſtance between Naples and England; nevertheleſs this cruſade was publiſhed there; a nuncio was ſent into that kingdom to collect the tenth penny. This nuncio abſolved king Henry III. of the vow he had made to carry the war into Paleſtine, on taking another, to furniſh the pope with men and money for his war againſt Manfred *.

Matthew Paris ſays that this nuncio raiſed 50,000 l. ſterling in England: to ſee the Engliſh at preſent, we could hardly ſuppoſe their anceſtors could have been ſo weak. The court of Rome, in order to extort this money, had flattered the king with hopes of getting the crown of Naples for his ſon Edmund, and at the ſame time was treating with Charles of Anjou, being always ready to beſtow the kingdom of the Two Sicilies to whomſoever would bid moſt for it. However, all theſe negotiations fell to the ground at that time. The pope ſquandered away the money he had raiſed in England in preparing for his cruſade, which at laſt did not take place. Manfred kept his crown, and pope Alexander IV. died without having ſucceeded in any thing but extorting money from England.

A cobler being made pope, under the name of Urban IV. continued what his predeceſſors had begun. This cobler was born at Troyë in Champagne. His predeceſſor had cauſed a cruſade to be preached in England againſt the Two Sicilies; this ſent to preach one in France, where he ſcattered his plenary indulgences with

* See vol. xxi. (xv. of the proſe works) p. 30.

a liberal hand, but could raiſe only a ſmall ſum and ſome few troops, which the count of Flanders, ſon-in-law to Charles of Anjou, led into Italy. Charles himſelf at length accepted the crown of Naples and Sicily ‖, with the conſent of St. Lewis king of France; but pope Urban died before he ſaw the beginning of this revolution.

Here we find three popes who waſte their lives in fruitleſs attempts to dethrone Manfred. A Languedocian, (Clement IV.) a ſubject of Charles of Anjou, compleated what the others had begun, and had the honour to have his maſter for his vaſſal †.

* * *

Id. page 158.] The popes had, about a century before, created the dignity of ſenator of Rome, which was in fact a revival of the power of the antient tribunes. This ſenator was the chief and guardian of the municipal government; and the popes, who ſo freely diſpoſed of crowns and kingdoms, could not impoſe a ſingle tax on the people of Rome. They were then the ſame that an elector of Cologne is in that city.

* * *

The pope's legate deprived Manfred's body of chriſtian burial. Kings take revenge only on the living; here the church extended her's to both living and dead ‡.

‖ See vol. xxi. (xvi of the proſe-works) p. 34.
† Id. p. 35. ‡ Ibid.

Of

Of the Cruſade againſt the ALBIGENSES.

Vol. II. chap. I. page 165. THE Jeſuit Daniel, in ſpeaking of theſe unhappy wretches, † in his hiſtory of France, calls them infamous and deteſtable heretics; but, with the good father's leave, men who could thus voluntarily embrace martyrdom, could not be perſons of infamous morals; and moſt certainly there was nothing deteſtable in this, but the cruelty with which they were treated. We may indeed lament the blindneſs of theſe poor creatures, who imagined that God would make them everlaſtingly happy, becauſe the monks thought fit condemn them to the flames.

The ſpirit of juſtice and reaſon, which has of late times been introduced into the law of nations in Europe, has at length evinced that nothing could be more unjuſt than this war againſt the Albigenſes, in which thoſe concerned did not take arms to quell a people who had rebelled againſt their ſovereign, but to oblige a ſovereign to deſtroy his people. What ſhould we ſay in theſe days, if a number of biſhops were to beſiege the elector of Saxony, or the elector Palatine, in their capitals, on the pretence that the ſubjects of theſe princes performed peaceably certain ceremonies which were not in uſe among the ſubjects of thoſe biſhops?

† The 140 poor creatures, who, chanting a pſalm, ran and threw themſelves headlong into the fire that Simon of Montfort had ordered to be kindled for their execution.

Id.

* * *

Id. page 167.] A council of Rome grants the count of Toulouſe a penſion of 400 marks, or marques. If they were marks, it was really 20,000 of our preſent franks; and if marques, (marcas) about 1200. The latter is moſt probable, if we conſider that the poorer they kept him, the more he muſt be dependent on the church.

Of the Cruſade againſt LANGUEDOC in 1228.

Idem. THE reign of St. Lewis, the ninth of that name, began unhappily by a horrible cruſade againſt Chriſtians, his vaſſals. It was not the lot of this prince to acquire any great encreaſe of glory by cruſades. Blanch of Caſtille, his mother, a woman wholly devoted to the pope, by birth a Spaniard, and conſequently abhorring the very name of heretic, and withal guardian to a young prince, who was to ſhare the ſpoils of the oppreſſed, did all in her power to aſſiſt a brother of Simon of Montfort, to compleat the ravages in Languedoc. Young count Raymond defended himſelf gallantly againſt his enemies. A war was lighted up, reſembling that in the Cevennes, which has been already treated of. The prieſts ſhewed no mercy to the Languedocians; and theſe never ſpared the prieſts. All the priſoners, on both ſides, were put to death, and every town that was taken, reduced to aſhes, for the ſpace of two years.

At length, the queen regent Blanch, who had other enemies to guard againſt, and young Raymond, weary of ſuch a ſcene of ſlaughter, and unable to ſupport the expences of the war, concluded a peace at Paris in 1228. One cardinal St. Angelo was choſen arbitrator on the occaſion, who impoſed the following conditions, which were agreed to, and executed on the ſide of Raymond.

The count of Toulouſe was to pay 10,000 marks or marques, for the uſe of the churches of Languedoc, into the hands of a perſon appointed by the cardinal to receive the ſame; 2000 to the monks of Citteaux, who were already immenſely rich; 500 to the monks of Clervaux, who were ſtill richer than them; and 1500 to the other abbies. He was to go and make war for five years upon the Turks and Saracens, who, moſt aſſuredly, had never made war upon him; he was to give up to the king of France, without any equivalent, all his dominions on this ſide the Rhine; for what he poſſeſſed on the other ſide of that river was a fief of the empire. Raymond ſigned this inſtrument, which ſtript him of all his poſſeſſions, and then cardinal St. Angelo, and the pope's legate, acknowledged him not only to be, but always to have been, a good catholic; only they led him, for form's ſake, in his ſhirt, and barefooted, before the altar of the church of Notre Dame, in Paris, where he aſked forgive-
n of the Virgin; probably, in his heart, for
g ſigned ſo infamous a treaty.

Idem.

* * *

Idem.] The cruſades againſt Languedoc laſted twenty years. The deſire of poſſeſſing another's property gave riſe to them, and at the ſame time to the inquiſition. This new ſcourge, before unknown to all religions in the world, received its firſt form in the year 1204, in the pontificate of Innocent III. It was eſtabliſhed in France as early as 1229, in the reign of St. Lewis. A council held at Toulouſe, in the laſt mentioned year, began by forbidding Chriſtian laymen to read the Old and New Teſtament. It was a downright inſult to mankind to dare to ſay to them, "We will that ye have a "certain belief, but we will not, that you "read the book on which that belief is "to be founded."

This council ordered all the works of Ariſtotle to be burnt, that is to ſay, two or three copies of them that had been brought from Conſtantinople, during the firſt cruſades. Theſe were books that no one underſtood, and on which the hereſy of the Languedocians was founded. Succeeding councils have placed Ariſtotle almoſt in the ſame rank with the fathers of the church. Thus you will ſee, every where, in this great picture of the follies of mankind, the opinions of the clergy, the ſuperſtition of the people, and enthuſiaſm in general, continually putting on new ſhapes, but always tending to plunge the world in barbariſm and miſery, till certain academies, or aſſemblies of men of learning, and enlightened knowledge, aroſe and made the preſent age bluſh for the ignorance of its anceſtors.

Id.

Id. page 69.] But it was ſtill worſe in 1237, when the king had the weakneſs to give leave for a grand inquiſitor to reſide in his kingdom, nominated by the pope. This was Robert, a Franciſcan friar, who exerciſed this new office, firſt in Toulouſe, and afterwards in the other province.

Had this Robert only been a fanatic, there would have been, at leaſt, the appearance of zeal in his miniſtry, which might have excuſed the cruelties he was guilty of, in the eyes of the weak and bigotted; but he was an apoſtate, and carried about with him an abandoned proſtitute, whom he entertained as a miſtreſs, and who, to compleat the horrible ſcene, was herſelf an heretic. Thus ſays Matthew Paris and Mouſk; and we find it proved in the Specilegium of Luke d'Acheri.

St. Lewis, king of France, unhappily permitted him to exerciſe his inquiſitional functions in Paris, Champagne, Burgundy and Flanders. He made the king believe that there was a new ſect ariſen, which privately infeſted theſe provinces. On this pretence, the inhuman monſter condemned to the flames, without mercy, every one whom he thought proper to ſuſpect, or who had not intereſt or money ſufficient to ranſom themſelves out of his hands. The common people, who are frequently the beſt es of thoſe who impoſe upon their kings, e gave this Robert any other title than that obert the B————r. He was at length ſovered, and his villanies and infamy brought to light; but what will ſtrike you with a great gnation and aſtoniſhment, is, that he was condemned to perpetual impriſonment; and

and to encreaſe your indignation, you will find no mention made of this man in father's Daniel's hiſtory of France.

In this manner, then, did the inquiſition firſt begin in Europe; a beginning truly worthy of the inſtitution itſelf. You are doubtleſs fully ſenſible, that it muſt be the height of brutal and abſurd barbariſm to maintain by the means of informers and executioners, the religion of a God, who died by the hands of executioners. It is almoſt as contradictory, as to amaſs for one's own private uſe all the riches of a prince and his people, in the name of a God who was born and lived in poverty.

Of the PONTIFICATE in the Thirteenth Century.

Vol. II. chap. li. IN the year 1339, Chriſtopher, king of Denmark, having been depoſed by his nobles and clergy, Magnus, king of Sweden, ſends to the pope, to aſk of him Scania, and ſome other territories. "You know, moſt holy father," ſays he, in his letter to the pontiff, "that the kingdom of "Denmark depends altogether on the church "of Rome, to whom it pays tribute, and not "on the empire." This pontiff, to whom the king of Sweden was a ſuitor, and whoſe temporal juriſdiction over all the ſovereigns of the earth, he ſo fully acknowledges, was James Fournier, Benedict XII. who then reſided at Avignon. However, the name is not material: the queſtion is, to ſhew that every prince who had a mind to uſurp or recover any dominion, always

always addreſſed himſelf to the pope as his maſter. Benedict ſided with the king of Denmark, and returned for anſwer to the above letter, "That he ſhould not proceed againſt that "prince, till he had ſummoned him to ap"pear before him, agreeable to the antient "cuſtoms."

STATE of the SCIENCES in EUROPE in the Thirteenth Century.

IN this century, men paſſed from a ſtate of brutal, to a ſtate of ſcholaſtic ignorance. Albert, ſurnamed the Great, taught the principles of heat, cold, dryneſs, and moiſture; he alſo taught politicks *according to the rules of aſtrology, and the influence of the planets*, and morality *by Ariſtotle's logic*.

It often happened that the wiſeſt inſtitutions aroſe only from blindneſs and weakneſs. There is not a more noble and ſplendid ceremony belonging to the church, nor one better calculated to inſpire the common people with a religious awe, than that of the holy ſacrament, or *Corpus Chriſti*. Antiquity could not boaſt any thing equal to it; and yet from whence had it its riſe? A nun of Liege, whoſe name was Moncomillon, dreamt every night that ſhe ſaw ole in the moon; ſhe had afterwards a vi- which told her that the moon was the rch, and the hole ſignified a feſtival, which was wanting in the church. Upon this a monk, med John, aſſiſted her in compoſing the of- f the holy ſacrament: this feſtival was eſta- d at Liege, and in a ſhort time pope Urban

Urban X. made it an immoveable feaſt throughout the whole Chriſtian church.

In the twelfth century, the black and white friars formed two great factions, which divided the cities much in the ſame manner as the blue and green factions did the minds of the people in the Roman empire. However, about the thirteenth century, when the Mendicant friars began to grow into credit, the blacks and the whites united againſt theſe new-comers, till at length one half of Europe was raiſed againſt them all. The ſtudies of the ſchools were then, and indeed are at preſent, ſuch ſyſtems of abſurdity, as were they to be imputed to the people of Taprobania, we ſhould think thoſe people belied. One queſtion was, "Whether "God can produce the univerſal nature of "things, and preſerve it without there being "things?" Another, "Whether God can be "in a predicate ſenſe, whether he can com-"municate his creating power, or render what "he has made not-made, and change a mar-"ried woman into a virgin?" A third, "Whether each perſon in the Godhead can aſ-"ſume which of the three natures he pleaſes?" A fourth, "Whether God can be a beetle or "a graſshopper?" A fifth, "Whether God "produces the Son by intellect, or by will; "by eſſence, or by attribute; naturally, or of "his free will?" And the doctors, who reſolved theſe curious queſtions, called themſelves the great, the ſubtle, the angelic, the irrefragable, the ſolemn, the enlightened, the univerſal and the profound. Theſe doctors were to the ancient fathers, what a pretender to wit is to a man of ſolid learning.

Of

Of SPAIN.

Vol. II. chap. lii. page 175, 176.

THE kings of Caſtille the twelfth century, continued to take the titl emperor of Spain. Alpho count of a part of Portugal, was their v while he was weak; but as ſoon as he fo himſelf maſter, by right of arms, of a co derable province, he erected himſelf into an dependent ſovereign. The king of Ca made war againſt him as a rebellious va but the new king of Portugal ſubmitted hir and his crown to the holy ſee, in like mar as the Normans, who became vaſſals to Rc for the kingdom of Naples. Eugenius conſers, that is, gives the kingly dignity to phonſo and his poſterity, for an annual tri of two pounds weight of gold. Pope Alexa III. his ſucceſſor, confirms this donation, condition of the ſame payment. Theſe p then actually gave kingdoms. The eſtat Portugal being convoked at Lamego, by phonſo, in order to frame laws for the gov ment of his new kingdom, began by rea the bull of pope Eugenius III. which beſtc the crown on Alphonſo; therefore they ſidered it as the principal right of their ſ reignty. This is an additional proof of the toms and prejudices of theſe times. No prince dared to aſſume the title of ſovereign, could be acknowleged ſuch by other ſoverei without the permiſſion of the pope; and the of all the hiſtory of the middle age, is alw

that the popes looked upon themſelves as lords paramount of every ſtate, without exception, in virtue of being the pretended ſucceſſors of Jeſus Chriſt; and the German emperors, on their ſide, pretended to think, and even declared, in all their public writings, that the ſeveral kingdoms of Europe were only branches that had been torn from their empire, becauſe they pretended to be ſucceſſors to the Cæſars. In the mean time, the Spaniards were taken up with eſtabliſhing more real rights.

* * *

Id. page 184.] Alphonſo the Wiſe, in his book of laws, entitled *Las Partedas*, ſays, "that the deſpotic monarch tears up the tree, "and the wiſe monarch prunes it".

Of PHILIP the FAIR, and of POPE BONIFACE VIII.

Vol. II. chap. liii. YOU may already have obſerved, that, after the death of Charlemagne, there was not one pontiff who had not ſome intricate and violent diſpute with the emperors and kings. You will ſee likewiſe, that thoſe diſputes, which are the neceſſary conſequences of the moſt abſurd form of government, to which mankind ever ſubmitted, continued till the age of Lewis XIV. This abſurdity conſiſted in making a foreigner maſter at home, and in abſolutely permitting this foreigner to diſpoſe of fiefs in your own country; in not being able to receive any part of the revenue of thoſe fiefs, without the permiſſion of this foreigner, and admitting him to a ſhare

a ſhare in them; in being continually expoſed to ſee thoſe very temples which you yourſelf built and endowed, ſhut up by his orders, and in conſenting that one part of your ſubjects ſhould be obliged to go and plead their cauſe at the diſtance of three hundred leagues from their own country. Theſe, however, are but ſlight links of thoſe fetters with which the crowned heads of Europe inſenſibly, and almoſt without knowing it, loaded themſelves and their ſubjects. At preſent, it is well known, that if any one was to propoſe to a ſovereign, or his council to ſubmit to ſuch cuſtoms, he would be looked upon as a madman: the yoke which firſt appeared light, encreaſed in weight every day. It was found neceſſary to alleviate it; but mankind had neither wiſdom, knowlege, nor reſolution enough to throw it off altogether.

Pope Boniface VIII. by a bull which had been a long time famous, had decreed, "that "no perſon in holy orders was to pay any "thing to the king his maſter, without the "expreſs commiſſion of the ſovereign pontiff." Philip, king of France, did not dare immediately to order this bull to be burnt; and therefore contented himſelf with iſſuing an ordinance, prohibiting the carrying of money out of the kingdom, without making any mention of Rome therein. Negotiations were ſet on foot upon this occaſion; the pope to gain time canonized St. Lewis; and from thence the monks concluded, that the man, who could thus diſpoſe of a place in heaven, might equally well diſpoſe of the riches of the earth.

The

The king pleaded before the archbiſhop of Narbonne at Senlis, againſt the biſhop of Pamiers, by the mouth of his chancellor Peter Flotta; and the chancellor went in perſon to Rome, to lay before the pope an account of the proceedings. The kings of Capadocia and Bythinia were uſed to act in the ſame manner towards rhe Roman republic; but Flotta did more than them, for he ſpoke to the pope as the miniſter of a real ſovereign to an imaginary one; expreſſing himſelf in theſe very words, "That the kingdom of France was of this "world, but that of the popes was not."

Nevertheleſs, the pope had the preſumption to take offence at this, and writes a brief to the king, in which he thus expreſſes himſelf, "Know that you are in ſubjection to us, not "only in ſpiritual, but alſo in temporal mat-"ters." A judicious and learned hiſtorian remarks very aptly, that this brief was preſerved in an antient MS. in the library of St. Germain des Prés, in Paris, but that the leaf has been torn out; but there is ſtill a table of contents, that points out the place where it was, and an extract, which preſerves the remembrance of it.

To this extraordinary letter, Philip returned as extraordinary an anſwer, which was as follows. "To Boniface, the pretended pope, "little or no health; Be it known to your moſt "ſupreme vanity, that we are in ſubjection to "no one in temporal matters." The hiſtorian above-mentioned obſerves, that this anſwer of the king's is preſerved in the Vatican. This ſhews, that the modern Romans have been more careful in preſerving curious things, than

communicated, and who was now his dearly beloved ſon, and a prop of the church. Obſerve only theſe words of his bull, "We beſtow on you by the plenitude of our power, ——— the kingdom of France, which belongs of right to the emperors of the weſt." Here Boniface and his Datary did not certainly give themſelves time to think, for if France belonged of right to the emperor, there was no room for the exertion of this plenitude of power. There was, however, ſome ſhadow of reaſon in this abſurdity; it flattered the pretenſions of the empire in all the dominions of the eaſt, for you will always find that the German civilians were of opinion, or at leaſt pretended to be ſo, that the Roman ſtate having delivered up itſelf, together with its biſhop, to Charlemagne, all the weſt, of conſequence, belonged to his ſucceſſors, and that the other ſtates were only branches torn from the empire.

Had Albert of Auſtria had an army of 200,000 men, it is certain that he would have taken advantage of Boniface's bounty; but being poor, and not well ſettled on his throne, he left his holineſs to be laughed at for his ridiculous donation.

* * *

Id. page 193.] The king of France joined the houſe of Colonna, who cared as little for excommunication as himſelf; and who frequently checked in Rome that very power, which was ſo formidable in other places.

* * *

Ibidem.] The popes who wanted to be too powerful, were, as you ſee, conſtantly giving

away kingdoms, and perſecuted themſel
home.

* * *

Id. page 194.] Philip the Fair was
from perſecuting the memory of Pope Bo
that he contented himſelf with barely ward
the ſtroke of excommunication, levelled
Boniface, againſt him and his ſubjects; an
ſuffered Nogaret, who had ſo well ſerve
who had acted wholly in his name, and
venged him upon Boniface, to be condem
the ſucceſſor of that pontiff, to perpetua
in Paleſtine, ſo that all the noble beginni
Philip the Fair terminated only in diſgra
this great portrait of the world, you will
find a king of France, who in the long-r
got the better of a pope. They may co
miſe matters indeed, but Rome will alw
a gainer by the bargain, and France out o
ket. You will find only the parliaments
kingdom oppoſing with ſteadineſs the a
of the holy ſee; and that frequently, the
or weakneſs of the cabinet, the exigence
cumſtances, and the intrigues of the r
will render this ſteadineſs of no effect.

Philip the Fair, in order to give vent
diſpleaſure, drove all the Jews out of hi
dom, ſeized upon their wealth, and
them ever to return again under pain of
This arret was not iſſued by the parliam
was in virtue of a ſecret ordinance, paſſed
privy council, that Philip puniſhed the
of the Jews by an act of injuſtice, by wh
people thought themſelves revenged, a
king found himſelf enriched.

Of the KNIGHTS TEMPLARS.

Vol. II. chap. iv. page 202. I Do not know what ſhare accrued to the pope, from the confiſcated eſtates of the Templars; but it is evident, that the expences of the cardinals and inquiſitors, delegated to carry on this ſhocking proceſs, amounted to immenſe ſums. I was perhaps miſtaken, when I read, together with you, the circular letter of Philip the Fair, in which he commands his ſubjects to reſtore the moveables, and other effects of the Templars, to the pope's commiſſioners. This ordinance of Philip is related by Peter Dupui. We thought that the pope had profited by this pretended reſtitution; for to whom can a reſtitution be made, but to thoſe who had been proprietors? Now, in thoſe days the popes were thought to be the maſters of all church-poſſeſſions; however, I have not been able to diſcover that the pope actually received the profits ariſing from the ſpoils of theſe unhappy victims.

Of SWISSERLAND.

Vol. II. chap. iv. page 206. EQUALITY, the natural inheritance of mankind, ſtill ſubſiſts as much as poſſible in Swiſſerland; you are not, by this term, to underſtand, that abſurd and impoſſible equality, by which the maſter and the ſervant, the magiſtrate and the artificer, the plaintiff and the judge, are confounded together; but that equality, by

which the ſubject depends only on the law and which is the defence of the weak, agai the ambition of the powerful.

* * *

Id. page 207.] There are very few repub can ſtates in the world, and theſe are indebt for their liberty to the rocks and ſeas, th ſerve them as bulwarks. Men in general a very ſeldom worthy to have the governme of themſelves.

Of the GOLDEN BULL.

Vol. II. chap. lviii. page 226, 227, 228.

IT is ſaid in this bull, whi was drawn up by Bartol that the ſeven electors we already eſtabliſhed, thereſ they muſt have been ſo, but it muſt have be a very ſhort time before, for all the prior tes monies of the twelfth and thirteenth centur ſhew us, that till the reign of Frederick II. t emperor was elected by the lords and prelat poſſeſſed of fiefs, and this verſe of Hoved is convincing proof of it:

" Eligit unanimis cleri procerumque voluntas.

" Emperors are elected by the unanimous co " ſent of the lords and clergy." But as t principal officers of the houſhold were powe ful princes, and as theſe officers had the d claring of the perſon who was elected by tl plurality of ſuffrages; and laſtly, as they we ſeven in number, they on the death of Frederi II. aſſumed a right of nominating him, who w

to be their maſter, and this was the real origin of the ſeven electors.

Originally the title of ſteward, maſter of the horſe, and cup-bearer, belonged to the head ſervants in the royal and other great families. In proceſs of time, theſe officers aſſumed the titles of ſtewards and cup-bearers of the empire. Thus, in France, the perſon who had the furniſhing the king's houſhold with wine, was called the chief butler of France, his maſter of the pantry, and his cup-bearer, became grand pantlers, and grand cup-bearers of France, though undoubtedly theſe officers neither ſerved the empire, nor the kingdom of France, with bread, wine or meat. Europe was overrun with theſe hereditary dignities, and thoſe of marſhals, and *grands veneurs*, or great huntſmen and chamberlains of a province, even the title of grand maſter of the beggars in Champagne, was hereditary in certain families.

* * *

The emperor was ſtiled in the golden bull, the head of the world, *caput orbis*. The dauphin of France, ſon to the unfortunate king John, aſſiſted at this ceremony, and cardinal Alba took the upper hand of him; ſo true is it, that at that time Europe was conſidered as a body which had two heads, and theſe two heads were the emperor and the pope; the other princes were regarded both in the diets and the conclaves, as no other than members that ought to be vaſſals. But remark how cuſtoms have changed; the electors, who then yielded the precedence to the cardinals, have for a long time taken the upper hands of thoſe, who dared to ſit above the

dauphin of France; and then judge, after this, if any thing can be called fixed in the empire.

* * *

Theſe various changes in cuſtoms and privileges, and this obſtinacy in maintaining a title, with ſo little power to ſupport it, forms the hiſtory of the lower empire, which the popes erected, by calling in Charlemagne, and afterwards the Otho's, in Italy, when in a weak ſtate. All the popes deſtroyed it as much as they were able; and this body, which was, and ſtill is, called the Holy Roman empire, was in no manner a holy Roman empire.

Of JOHN HUS, &c.

Vol. II. chap. lxi. page 253.

A Father of the council of Conſtance, ſaid to John Hus, "If the ſacred council "ſhould pronounce you blind, it would not ſig- "nify that you had two eyes in your head; you "muſt acknowlege yourſelf blind."

STATE of EUROPE.

Vol. II. chap. lxii.

READ the life of Ezzelino d'Aromano, tyrant of Padua, ſo naturally, and ſo well wrote by Pietro Gerardo, his cotemporary. You will find that this tyrant put to death upwards of 12,000 citizens of Padua, in the thirteenth century. The pope's legate, who fought againſt him, put to death, at leaſt, as many of the inhabitants of Vicenza, Verona and Ferrara

Ezzelino

Ezzelino was at length taken priſoner; and himſelf, with all his family, periſhed by the moſt cruel torments.

Of FRANCE and ENGLAND, in the Year 1326.

Vol. II. chap. lxiii. page 268. ISABELLA, queen of Edward II. cauſed it to be inſerted in the ſentence pronounced againſt the younger Spenſer, that he ſhould have thoſe parts cut off, of which he had made a criminal uſe with the king. This part of the ſentence was executed upon him at the gallows, and ſhe had the courage to be preſent while it was performing. Froiſſard makes no difficulty of calling theſe parts by their proper names. What a difference between thoſe days and the preſent civilized times!

* * *

Id. page 269.] One Treſſel made known to Edward III. his depoſition in theſe words, which are ſtill preſerved in the public acts: "I "William Treſſel, in behalf of the parlia- "ment and people of England, declare to you, "in their name, and by their authority, that I "renounce, revoke, and withdraw, the ho- "mage I have done to you, and deprive you of "the kingly power."

Of the SALIQUE LAW.

Idem, page 271, &c.

IT has always been a cuſtom ſtrengthen opinions of wha ever kind, by the authority of ſacred writings. The followers of the Sali law, quoted this paſſage in St. Matthew, *lillies toil not, neither do they ſpin*; and f hence concluded, that as it was the buſine the females to ſpin, they ought not to reign the kingdom of lillies; and yet the lillies do toil, and a ſovereign muſt. The lions of E land, and the towers of Caſtille ‡, do not any more than the lillies of France; and women may ſucceed to the crowns of thoſe kingdoms. Moreover, the armorial bearing the kings of France bear no reſemblance to lies; they appear plainly to be the heads o old faſhioned pikes or halberds, as we find t deſcribed in the following bad verſe of Will the Breton. *Cuſpidis in medio uncum en acutum*, The ſhield of France has an ſpike in the midſt of the halberd.

* * *

Not only the daughters were excluded f the ſucceſſion, but the repreſentative of a dau ter's family. It was pretended that king ward could not poſſeſs a right by his mot which ſhe herſelf had not. But there wa more cogent reaſon for preferring a prince

‡ This alludes to the armorial bearings of England and S the former of which is Gules, three lions paſſant guardant, and the latter, quarterly, a lion and a caſtle, for the two inces of Leon and Caſtille.

the blood to a foreigner, the native of a country naturally an enemy to France.

Of EDWARD III. in the Year 1338.

Id. page 274.] THE emperor, Lewis of Bavaria, joined the king of England with more pomp than the brewer, but with leſs advantage to Edward.

And here I would have you attentively remark the prejudice which reigned at that time in the German republic, which was dignified with the title of Roman empire. This Lewis the emperor, who was only in poſſeſſion of Bavaria, inveſted king Edward III. in the city of Cologn, with the dignity of vicar of the empire, in the preſence of almoſt all the Engliſh and German princes and knights. He there declares the king of France to be diſloyal and perfidious, that he has forfeited the protection of the empire, and by this act ſecretly declares Philip of Valois and Edward to be his vaſſals.

The Engliſh monarch ſoon perceived that the title of vicar was as empty in itſelf as that of emperor, when not ſupported by the Germanic body; and he conceived ſuch a diſlike to the German anarchy, that when he was afterwards offered the empire, he rejected it with diſdain.

The beginning of this war gave a proof of that ſuperiority which the Engliſh nation might one day have on the ſea. Edward was at firſt to endeavour to land in France with a powerful army, and Philip to hinder him. Both monarchs fitted out in a very ſhort time a fleet of one hundred ſhips each. Theſe ſhips, howe-

ver, were nothing more than large barks. Edward was not, at that time, like the French king, ſufficiently rich to build them at his own expence. Of the hundred Engliſh ſhips, twenty only belonged to him, the reſt were furniſhed by the ſea-port towns in England. That nation then was ſo poor in ſpecie, that the pay of the prince of Wales was no more than twenty ſhillings per day; that of the biſhop of Durham, one of the admirals, only ſix, and the barons had but four each; however, the pooreſt ſide conquered the richeſt, as is almoſt always the caſe.

Sea-fights, in thoſe days, were more bloody than they are at preſent. They did not indeed uſe cannon, which makes ſo much noiſe, but there were many more killed on all ſides. The ſhips boarded each other at the head or prow, and then letting down a kind of draw-bridge which was faſtened to the ſhrouds, ready for the occaſion, the crews of each fought as upon firm ground. Philip's admirals loſt ſeventy ſhips, and near 20,000 men. This was the prelude to the glory of Edward, and his ſon, the black prince, who gained this battle in their own perſons.

Of the taking of CALAIS.

Idem, page 276. IT is ſaid that, during the ſiege of this town, Philip of Valois, finding he could not force the beſiegers lines, in a fit of rage propoſed to king Edward to decide this great quarrel by a combat of ſix men on a ſide. Edward, who was not

not willing to hazard the certain taking of the place on an uncertain combat, refuſed Philip's challenge, as the latter had before done his *. We never ſee princes terminating their differences between themſelves, the blood of the people has always flowed on theſe occaſions.

The moſt memorable thing that happened in this ſiege, is the right which king Edward reſerved to himſelf by the capitulation, to hang up any ſix of the chief citizens of the place he ſhould pitch upon, and for which there appears to be no reaſon, as the citizens of Calais were no rebels; but, in fact, they might ſuppoſe, that if Edward really wanted to put an halter about their neck, it was not to put them to death by it, for he treated them with great humanity, and made a preſent to each of ſix gold crowns, known by the name of roſe nobles.

If it had been his intention to hang any one, he had perhaps a right to revenge himſelf in this manner on Geofry de Charni, who, after the ſurrender of the town, endeavoured to corrupt the Engliſh governor by an offer of 20,000 crowns, and who was taken as he was coming out of the gates, together with the chevalier Euſtace de Ribaumont. This Ribaumont, in the fight, ſtruck king Edward to the ground. The ſame day that monarch entertained both of them at his own table, and preſented Ribaumont with a coronet of pearls, which he himſelf placed on his head. It is therefore unjuſt to ſuppoſe that he had ever an intention to hang ſix citizens, who had fought courageouſly in the defence of their country.

* See vol. ii. p. 274.

Death

Death of EDWARD III. in 1377.

Vol. II. ch. lxvi. page 30. EDWARD, after his victories and conquests, spent his time in nothing but tournaments: enamoured of a woman unworthy of his affection, he sacrificed to her his interest and his glory, and at length lost all the fruits of his toils and atchievements in France. He was wholly taken up with diversions, tournaments, and instituting his order of the garter. The famous round table set up by him at Windsor, and to which all the knights in Europe were invited, gave the first rise to all the fabulous stories of the knights of the round table, which romance writers fictiously attribute to king Arthur. At length Edward, after having outlived his fame and good fortune, died in the arms of his mistress, Alice Pierce, who, while she was closing his eyes, stole the jewels he wore about him, and even the ring from off his finger. It is difficult to say which died most miserable, the conqueror, or the conquered.

Of RICHARD II. King of England in the year 1399.

Idem, page 307. RICHARD II. was deposed according to law. He was tried by the parliament as Edward II. had been. The charge brought in form against him has been preserved: among other

other things, he was accuſed of having borrowed money without repaying it; of having kept ſpies, and of having ſaid that he was maſter of the eſtates of his ſubjects. He was condemned as an enemy to the liberties of mankind, and a traitor.

The SALIQUE LAW aboliſhed.

Vol. III. ch. lxvii.* page 12, 13. HERE, then, we ſee the Salique law aboliſhed, the lawful heir to the crown diſinherited and proſcribed, and the ſon-in-law reigning peaceably, and taking away the inheritance from his brother-in-law, in like manner as we have ſince ſeen William prince of Orange, a foreigner, diſpoſſeſſing his wife's father of the crown of England. If this revolution had been as durable as ſome others, and had the ſucceſſors of Henry V. ſupported the edifice which had been raiſed by their father, and continued in poſſeſſion of the throne of France, where is the hiſtorian who would have thought of diſputing the juſtice of their cauſe? Mezeray, in this caſe, would not have aſſerted that Henry V. died of the piles, with which he had been afflicted as a puniſhment for having ſeated himſelf on the throne of the French kings. The popes would have ſent bulls upon bulls to the ſucceſsful uſurpers of that throne. They would have been all the anointed of the Lord, and the ſalique law would have been treated as an

* After the murder of the duke of Burgundy, and the acceſſion of Henry V. to the crown of France.

idl-

idle chimera. What crouds of Benedictines would have been ready to have preſented the deſcendants of Henry V. with old vouchers againſt this law? and how many brilliant wits would have employed their talents in turning it into ridicule? while the moſt celebrated preachers would have exalted to the ſkies Henry as the avenger of innocent blood, and the deliverer of France.

Of CHARLES VII. king of FRANCE.

Vol. III. ch. lxviii. * LET the inhabitants of an extenſive city, where peace, pleaſure, and the polite arts, reign in all their luſtre, and where reaſon begins every day to gain ground; let them, I ſay, compare theſe with former times, and complain if they dare. It is neceſſary to make ſome ſuch reflection at almoſt every page of this hiſtory.

* * *

Id. page 21.] It was not till the year 1437 that Charles VII. made his entry into Paris. The citizens, who had ſignalized themſelves by ſo many maſſacres, went forth to meet him with all the demonſtrations of affection and joy that were in uſe among a people then uncivilized. Seven young women, perſonating the ſeven ſins which are called mortal, and a like number of others to perſonate the divine and cardinal

† This relates to the puniſhment of Joan of Arc, marſhal of France, &c. &c.

virtues,

virtues, each carrying a ſcroll in her hand, received him at St. Denis's gate. He ſtopt ſome time there to ſee the repreſentation of ſome religious myſteries, which were played by ſtrollers mounted upon ſtools. The inhabitants of this capital were at that time poorer than the meaneſt labourers are now, and the people of the provinces were ſtill more ſo. It required more than twenty years to reform the ſtate.

Of MANNERS and CUSTOMS in the 13th and 14th centuries.

Vol. III. ch. lxix. page 25, &c.

THE following circumſtance is alone ſufficient to ſhow the great ſcarcity of money at that time *, both in Scotland and England, as well as the ruſticity, commonly called ſimplicity, of thoſe days. We read in the public acts, that when the kings of Scotland came to the Engliſh court, they had thirty ſhillings per day aſſigned them for their maintenance, 12 loaves, 12 cakes, and 30 bottles of wine.

* * *

Id. page 29.] The biſhops had, for a long time, been accuſtomed never to go abroad without a great number of ſervants and horſes to attend them. A council held at Lateran, in the year 1179, in the pontificate of pope Alexander III. reproaches them, that when they went to viſit the monaſteries, theſe latter were fre-

† At the beginning of the 14th century.

quently

quently obliged to ſell all their church-plate to defray the expences of their reception. The retinue of the archbiſhops was contracted by the canons of the councils to 50 horſes, that of the biſhops to 30, that of the cardinals to 25; for a cardinal, who was not at the ſame time biſhop, and conſequently had no church-lands, could not ſupport the pomp of a biſhop. This magnificence in the prelates appeared more hateful than it does at preſent, becauſe there was not then any middle rank between the great and the mean, the rich and the poor. It was only the help of time that formed that middling rank which at preſent make the riches of a nation.

Of the ARTS and SCIENCES in the 13th and 14th centuries.

Idem, page 42. THE dramatic art did not exiſt in theſe days. In Italy they were acquainted with nothing of the kind, but certain ſimple repreſentations of ſome particular ſtories in the Old and New Teſtament, and from thence the cuſtom of playing myſteries paſſed into France. Theſe exhibitions came originally from Conſtantinople, where they had been introduced by the poet St. Gregory Nazianzen, in oppoſition to the dramatic pieces of the ancient Greeks and Romans; and as the choruſſes in the Greek tragedies were religious hymns, and their theatre held a ſacred part, Gregory, and his ſucceſſors, compoſed ſacred tragedies; but unhappily this new theatre had by no means that pre-eminence over the ſtage of Athens, which the Chriſtian

Chriſtian religion had over that of the Gentiles. There are ſtill ſome remains of theſe pious farces in the ſtrolling theatres, which to this day exhibit the ſtory of the ſhepherds. On holidays, or other times of religious feſtivals, they repreſented the birth and ſufferings of our Saviour. Theſe cuſtoms were ſoon adopted by the common people in the northern nations. Theſe ſubjects have ſince been treated in a more ſuitable manner, of which we have inſtances in thoſe little operas, which are known by the name of oratorio's, and the French have exhibited the moſt maſterly productions on their ſtage, taken from ſtories in the Old Teſtament.

The brotherhood of the paſſion in France, towards the end of the 15th century, brought Jeſus Chriſt in perſon upon the ſtage. Had the French language been then as majeſtic and pure, as it was low and grovelling, if among ſo many dull and illiterate perſons, there had been one man of genius, it is not improbable that the death and ſufferings of a juſt and a righteous perſon, perſecuted by Jewiſh prieſts, and condemned by a Roman prætor, might have furniſhed matter for a ſublime work; but this required an enlightened age, and ſuch an age would not have permitted theſe kind of repreſentations.

* * *

Du Cange, and his continuers, (very exact compilers) quote a manuſcript, upwards of 500 years old, in which is found the following hymn of the aſs:

Orientis partibus
Adventavit aſinus
Pulcher et fortiſſimus.

A young damſel, repreſenting the mother of God, journeying into Egypt, mounted on this aſs, and holding a young child in her arms, led the proceſſion; and at the end of the maſs, inſtead of repeating the words, *Ita miſſa eſt*, the prieſt ſet a braying as loud as he could ſtretch his lungs, and the people anſwered him with the ſame cry.

This more than ſavage ſuperſtition had nevertheleſs its origin in Italy. And although, in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, ſome few Italians began to emerge from darkneſs, yet the populace in general continued plunged in ignorance. They had entertained a notion at Verona, that the aſs which carried our Saviour had walked upon the ſea, and had come through the gulph of Venice, as far as the banks of the Adige, where Jeſus aſſigned him a certain field for paſturage, in which he lived a long time, and in which he afterwards died. The bones of this animal were incloſed within a caſe, made in the ſhape of an aſs, which was depoſited in the church of Notre Dame des Orgues, or our Lady of the Organs, under the care of four canons; and theſe reverend relicts were carried about three times a-year.

This aſs of Verona was the making of the houſe of our lady of Loretto. Pope Boniface VIII. ſeeing that the proceſſion of the aſs brought ſuch a concourſe of ſtrangers, bethought himſelf that the Virgin Mary's houſe muſt certainly bring ſtill a greater number; and in this he was not deceived. He accordingly gave his apoſtolic ſanction to this fable. And the people who were capable of believing that the aſs walked upon the ſea, from Jeruſalem to Verona, were

were eaſily perſuaded that the Virgin Mary's houſe might have been tranſported from Nazareth to Loretto. This little houſe was incaſed in a magnificent church, and in a ſhort time, by the pilgrimages of devotees, and the preſents of ſeveral crowned heads, this temple became as rich as that of Epheſus. The Italians, at leaſt, found their market in the blind ſuperſtition of other nations; but at the ſame time they gave into this ſuperſtition themſelves, by following the popular prejudice, and the ſpirit of the times. You may have had many occaſions to obſerve that enthuſiaſm, to which mankind have a natural propenſity, has ſerved to render them not only more ſtupid, but alſo more wicked. Pure religion ſoftens the manners by enlightening the underſtanding; and, on the contrary, ſuperſtition, by blinding the judgment, inſpires rage and cruelty.

There was at that time in Normandy, which is called the country of wiſdom, an abbot of the cuckolds, who uſed to traverſe through many towns in a kind of chair, drawn by four horſes, with a mitre on his head, and a croſier in his hand, diſpenſing benedictions, and iſſuing mandates.

There was alſo a king of the ſtews eſtabliſhed at court by patent. He was originally the chief or judge of a petty guard belonging to the palace, and afterwards a court-fool, who uſed to exact a certain fee from all the pick-pockets and night-walkers. There was not a town but what had a ſociety of artificers, burghers, and even of women, among whom the moſt extravagant ceremonies were ſtamped with the title of religious myſteries; and from hence came

the

the fraternity of free-maſons, an inſtitut
which has bid defiance to time, the great le
ler of all others.

The moſt contemptible, though at the ſ
time the moſt numerous of all theſe frate
ties, was that of the flagellants or floggers
had its firſt origin in the inſolence of ſ
prieſts, who took advantage of the weakneſ
publick penitents, ſo far as to ſcourge th
We ſee the remains of this brutal cuſtom
the little wands or ſwitches, which the peni
tiaries at Rome carry in their hands, on the
of any ſolemn proceſſion. The monks
length, came to ſcourge themſelves, on a
poſition that nothing could be more pleaſin
God, than the welted back of a brawny f
In the eleventh century, one Peter Dan
perſuaded ſeveral of the laity to exerciſe this
cipline on themſelves ſtark naked. In 1
there were ſeveral fraternities of pilgrims,
came through all Italy armed with rods
diſciplines. They at length made the to
one half of Europe. This aſſociation, in ti
grew up into a ſect, which it was found ne
ſary to ſuppreſs.

INFRANCHISEMENTS, P
VILEGES, &c.

Vol. III. chap. lxx. page 49, 50.

ST. Lewis ennobled
ſurgeon La Broſſe,
making him his chamber

* * *

In Venice, Genoa, and other republ
though the people had no ſhare in the gov
m

nent, yet they were never held in ſlavery. The citizens of Italy were very different from the burghers of the countries of the north; the burghers in Germany and in France were dependents on a lord, a biſhop, or the king, and belonged to one man; but the citizens of Italy belonged only to the republic.

Of the PARLIAMENT of PARIS, till the Reign of CHARLES VII.

Vol. III. chap. lxxii. page 60, 61.

THE parliament did not repreſent the nation, for to do this, it muſt be either nominated by the nation, or have an inherent right in its own perſon. The officers of the parliament (the peers excepted) were named by the king, paid by the king, and removeable by the king.

* * *

The deſcendants of lawyers are not to this day admitted into the chapters in Germany. It is a relict of antient barbariſm to annex a mark of degradation to one of the moſt noble functions of humanity, that of the diſtribution of juſtice.

It may be ſaid, in anſwer to this, that it is not the function of diſtributing juſtice that is deemed derogatory, ſince the peers of the realm, and even ſovereigns themſelves, have executed this function; but that certain men of a low extraction, having been at firſt introduced into the parliament of Paris, ſolely to carry on the cauſes, and not to give their voices, and having afterwards

afterwards assumed the rights and privileges of nobles, to whom alone it belonged to be the judges of the people, they ought not to be admitted to share those honours which appertain incommunicably to the body of nobles. The famous Fenelon, archbishop of Cambray, in a letter to the French academy, says, that a person to be qualified to write the history of France, should be well versed in the antient customs of the nation, and that he should know that the counsellors of parliament were originally serfs or vassals, who had studied the laws of their country, and who assisted the nobles with their advice in the court of parliament. This may be true, in respect to some who raised themselves by their merit; but it is still a greater truth, that the major part of the counsellors were not serfs, but the sons of creditable burghers, who had been a long time infranchised, and lived as freemen under the king, whose burghers they were. This order of citizens has undoubtedly at all times, and in every country, better opportunities of acquiring a knowledge in their profession, than persons born in slavery.

This court was, as you know, the same as that which in England is called the court of King's-Bench. The English kings, who were vassals to those of France, imitated all the customs of their lords paramount. There was a king's attorney in the parliament of Paris, and there is one in the court of King's-Bench in England. The chancellor of France may preside in the French parliament; the chancellor of England may do the same in the King's-Bench.

Bench ‡. The king, and the houſe of lords in England, may ſet aſide the decrees of the court of King's-Bench; in like manner as the king of France, with his council of ſtate, ſets aſide the arrets of the parliament; and as he likewiſe might with the high barons, and the nobles in the general aſſembly of the ſtates, which are the parliament of the nation. The court of King's-Bench cannot enact laws; neither can the parliament of Paris. The very word *Bench* ſhews the great affinity between theſe courts; the bench of preſidents ſtill retains its name with us, and is now called the *High* or *Upper Bench.*

We have already remarked, that the form of the Engliſh government has not changed like ours. The general aſſembly of the Engliſh ſtates has always ſubſiſted; they have ſhared in the legiſlation: whereas ours, by being ſo rarely convoked, are grown out of uſe. The courts of juſtice, which we call parliaments, having become perpetual, and being conſiderably encreaſed, have inſenſibly acquired, partly by the conceſſion of the kings, and partly by cuſtom, and even the unhappineſs of the times, certain privileges which they never enjoyed, either under Philip the Fair, his ſons, or Lewis XI.

The chief diſtinction of the parliament of Paris, above the other courts of parliament, ariſes from the cuſtom, which the kings of France introduced, of having all their treaties and edicts regiſtered in the chamber of parlia-

‡ For a refutation of this miſtaken notion of M. de Voltaire, ſee note to *chap. lxiv. page 28.* of Vol. II. of the General *Hiſtory.*

...t, during its ſeſſion, as the moſt authen
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But Charles VI. was ſo far from being ſu
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which makes a man the ſport of his fell
creatures.

f the ſeeming UNION of the GREEK and LATIN CHURCHES.

ol. III. chap. xiii. page 70.

THE Greek emperor, with his patriarch, and almoſt all the other prelates, ſubribed at Florence to the long diſputed point the primacy of the biſhop of Rome. The ezantine hiſtory affirms, that the pope bribed em to ſign this acknowledgement. This is ot improbable. It was the pope's intereſt to ain this advantage at any price; and the biſhops f a country, that had been a prey to the ravages f the Turks, muſt have been poor.

This union of the Latins and Greeks was ndeed but tranſitory. It was a game played by he emperor John II. ſurnamed Paleologus. The whole Greek church diſowned what had een done; and the biſhops who had ſubſcribed t Florence, aſked pardon for their proceedings, t Conſtantinople, and acknowledged that they ad betrayed the true faith. They were on this ccaſion compared to Judas, who betrayed his aſter, and were not readmitted into the boſom f their church, till they had formally abjured he innovations with which the Latins were ccuſed.

The Latin and Greek churches were, after his, more divided than ever. The Greeks, always vain of their boaſted antiquity, their ſo general councils, and their ſciences, encreaſed n their hatred and contempt for the Romiſh communion. They made all the Latins, who came over to them, to be baptized anew, and

ment, during its ſeſſion, as the moſt authentic depoſitory; in other reſpects, this chamber never interfered in any affairs of ſtate, or of the revenues. Whatever regarded the regal revenue, or the impoſition of taxes, was inconteſtibly the department of the chamber of accompts. The firſt remonſtrances of the parliament, touching the revenue, was in the reign of Francis I.

All things are more ſubject to change in France, than in any other nation: there was an ancient cuſtom, by which no arret, inflicting bodily puniſhment, could be executed, till ſuch arret was firſt ſigned by the king. This cuſtom is ſtill in force in England, and many other ſtates; and nothing can be more juſt and humane. Fanaticiſm, party-fury and ignorance, have condemned many innocent citizens to loſe their lives. Theſe citizens belong to the king, that is to ſay, to the ſtate; but by theſe practices the country is robbed of a ſubject, and his family is rendered infamous, without the perſon, who is the repreſentative of that country, knowing any thing of the matter. How many innocent perſons have we ſeen accuſed of hereſy, witchcraft, and a thouſand imaginary crimes, whoſe lives might have been ſaved by a king of knowledge and underſtanding.

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written very violently in ſupport of the ſuperiority of councils over the popes; but after he was made pope himſelf, under the name of Pius II. he condemned, ſtill more violently, his own writings, ſacrificing every conſideration to that of preſent intereſt, which ſo frequently makes the principles of truth or falſhood among them. There were ſome other writings of his ſpread abroad. In the fifteenth letter of his collection of letters, publiſhed under the title of *Amænitates*, he recommends one of his baſtards, whom he had by an Engliſh woman. Hence we find, that he did not condemn his amours, as he had condemned his ſentiments on the fallability of the popes.

The FALL of the GREEK EMPIRE.

Vol. III. chap. lxxiv. page 75.

A Conſiderable ſect of monks, and contemplative devotees, ſaw the light of mount Tabor at their navels, as the Indian Faquirs ſaw the heavenly light at the end of their noſes.

* * *

Id. page 75.] This duke of Burgundy, who was priſoner to Bajazet, was the ſame John *Sans peur*, or the *Fearleſs*, who murdered the duke of Orleans, and was himſelf afterwards murdered by Charles VII. and yet we boaſt ourſelves more humane and civilized than the Turks!

Of the TAKING of CONSTANTINOPLE.

Vol. III. chap. lxxviii. page 97.

THIS conqueſt forms a grand epoch. Here begins in reality the Turkiſh empire, in the midſt of Chriſtendom; and at this time ſome of the arts of Greece were firſt tranſported amongſt them.

* * *

Id. page 103.] The Turkiſh annals appear to be very true in what they relate of the ſieges of Conſtantinople. Ducas himſelf, who is thought to have been of the Imperial race, and who during his infancy was in the beſieged city, acknowledges in his hiſtory, that the ſultan offered the emperor Conſtantine, to give him Peloponeſus for himſelf, and to grant him ſome ſmall provinces for his brothers. Mahomet wanted to have poſſeſſion of the city, without ſacking it, as he looked upon it as a part of his property, which he was willing to preſerve ſafe.

Some Particulars concerning CONSTANTINOPLE.

Idem, page 104, 105.

NO Chriſtian nation will ſuffer the Turks to have a moſque in it, and yet the Turks give leave to the Greeks to have churches amongſt them; ſeveral of theſe churches are collegiate, and in the Archipelago we ſee canons under the dominion of a baſha.

Son

written very violently in ſupport of the ſuperiority of councils over the popes; but after he was made pope himſelf, under the name of Pius I. he condemned, ſtill more violently, his own writings, ſacrificing every conſideration to that of preſent intereſt, which ſo frequently makes the principles of truth or falſhood among them. There were ſome other writings of his ſpread abroad. In the fifteenth letter of his collection of letters, publiſhed under the title of *Amænitates*, he recommends one of his baſtards, whom he had by an Engliſh woman. Hence we find, that he did not condemn his amours, as he had condemned his ſentiments on the fallability of the popes.

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rew down their arms and took to flight. It ems however more probable that the Turks ould have been rather ſtimulated than intimi- ted with the ſight of a beautiful woman, and at in fact the bravery of d'Aubuſſon and his ights was the only miracle that obliged the urks to give way. But this is the uſual man- er of writing among the modern Greeks.

STATE of GREECE under the OTTOMAN EMPIRE.

dem, page 11, &c. MOST of the ſtately monuments of Athens, which the antient Romans imitated, without being able to ſurpaſs, are either in ruin, or otally loſt; a little moſque is now built where he tomb of Themiſtocles ſtood; as we ſee a hapel of the Recollects built upon the ruins of he capitol of Rome. The antient temple of Minerva is alſo converted into a moſque. The Piream haven is no more, an antique lion of marble is ſtill left ſtanding near it, and gives its ame to the harbour of Porto Leone, which is ttle better than a heap of rubbiſh. The ſpot here formerly ſtood the academy, is now covered with ſome gardeners hovels. The beautiful remains of the Stadion ſtill inſpire veneration and concern, and the temple of Ceres, which has eſcaped the injury of time, gives us a glimpſe of what Athens formerly was. This city, which conquered the great Perſian monarch Xerxes, contains between 16 and 17,000 inhabitants, who crouch and tremble beneath the power of 1200 Janizaries, who carry no-

ſeventeenth century; a French knight named Foulques de Villaret, grand maſter of the order of Rhodes, took it from them again in 1310; and another French knight, Peter d'Aubuſſon, defended it againſt the Turks.

It is ſomething very remarkable, that Mahomet II. employed a great number of renegado Chriſtians in this expedition. The grand viſir himſelf, who laid ſiege to the place, was a Chriſtian; and what is more ſtrange, of the imperial houſe of the Paleologi. One George Frupan, another Chriſtian, had the direction of the works under the grand viſir's orders: we never find an inſtance of Muſſulmans changing their religion, and ſerving in the Chriſtian armies. But whence this difference? Is it, that a religion, for whoſe ſake they have parted with a portion of their own fleſh, and which they have ſealed with their own blood, in a moſt painful operation, is for that reaſon more dear to them? Is it that the Aſiatick conquerors had more reſpect ſhewn them, than the European powers? Or laſtly, is it that in the times of ignorance, the arms of Muſſulmans were thought to be more favoured of God, than thoſe of Chriſtians, and that hence they inferred the ſucceſsful cauſe to be the beſt?

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Of CHIVALRY or KNIGHTHOOD.

Vol. III. chap. lxxxii. page 144.

THE profeſſors of the law erected themſelves into an order, like the true knights at arms: this was a proof of the decline of antient chivalry. The ſtudents took the name of batchelors, after having maintained a Theſis, and the doctors of law called themſelves knights, a title ridiculous in itſelf, for originally the knight *(Chevalier* or *Cavalier)* was a perſon who fought armed on horſeback, which certainly could have no kind of connection with a civilian.

Of NOBILITY.

Vol. III. chap. lxxxiii. page 146, 151.

AFTER what we have ſaid in relation to feudal government, it remains to explain, as clearly as poſſible, what relates to the nobleſſes, who were a long time the ſole poſſeſſors of fiefs.

The term *noble* at firſt was a title that neither conferred rights, nor was hereditary. *Nobilitas*, among the Romans, ſignified any thing eminent or worthy of notice *, and not an order of citizens. The ſenate was inſtituted to

* Hence the line in Horace, *Virtus ſola Nobilitas*, may be properly rendered, "Virtue is the only true diſtinction," and not "the only true nobility."

its form of government. Those who sa
all men are equal, speak the strictest tr
they mean that all men have an equal ri
liberty, to the enjoyment of their own pro
and to the protection of the laws. Bu
would be guilty of a great error, if they th
that all men ought to be upon an equality
gard to rank and employments, when th
not so in regard to their talents or capa
In this necessary inequality of conditions
ther the antients, nor indeed nine parts
ten of the habitable globe, were acqu
with any thing that bore the least resem
to what we call nobility, as it is now estab
in Europe.

The laws and customs of this order
varied like all other things: we have a
shewn you that the most antient heredita
bility, was that of the Patricians of V
who had seats in the council, as early as th
century before there was a dome; and i

lics of Italy. This nobility was annexed to dignity and employ, and not to lands.

In every other country, nobility became the portion of thoſe who were poſſeſſed of lands. The Herren of Germany, the Ricos Hombres of Spain, and the barons of France and England, enjoyed an hereditary nobility, merely becauſe their feudal or non-feudal lands remained in their families. The titles of duke, count, viſcount, marquis, were at firſt dignities or offices for life, which afterwards paſſed from father to ſon, ſome ſooner, others later.

Upon the decline of the family of Charlemagne, almoſt all the ſtates of Europe, the republicks excepted, were governed as Germany is at preſent; and we have ſeen that every poſſeſſor of a fief exerciſed ſovereign authority in his own territories, as far as he was able.

It is clear that ſovereigns owed no ſervice to any other, except what the petty ones engaged themſelves to pay to the great. Thus a Caſtellan or ſovereign lord of a caſtle, paid a pair of ſpurs to a viſcount, who paid a falcon to a count, and this laſt ſome other mark of vaſſalage to a duke. Theſe all acknowledged the king of the country for their lord paramount, though he could not impoſe a tax upon any one of them. They owed the ſervice of their perſons, becauſe they fought for their lands and for themſelves, in fighting for the ſtate, and the chief of the ſtate; and hence it comes that, at preſent, the new nobles, or thoſe who have been ennobled, without being poſſeſſors of lands, do not pay the tax laid upon landholders, and known by the name of *Taille*.

The

count, a baron, or a biſhop, and much l
an abbot, who arrogated to himſelf the
honours as a baron, or a count. The cit
the Rhine and the Rhone, and others of g
antiquity, ſuch as Autun, Arles, and pa
larly Marſeilles, flouriſhed long before
was either lords or prelates. Their magi
was ſeveral centuries prior to the exiſter
fiefs; but the barons and caſtellans got th
ter, almoſt every where, of the citizens
although the magiſtrates were not ſerfs c
lord, they were at leaſt his burghers; and
it comes that in many ancient charters w
ſheriffs *(echevins)* and mayors, entitle
ſelves burghers of a count, or a biſhop
king's burghers. Theſe burghers coul
change their habitation without the pern
of their lord, and paying a conſiderable
This kind of ſervitude is ſtill in force in
many.

In like manner as the fiefs were diſtinc

This form of government, which had been raiſed by inſenſible degrees, fell to decay in like manner, in ſeveral countries, and in others were entirely aboliſhed.

The kings of France, for example, at firſt ennobled the burghers, by conferring on them titles without lands. It is ſaid there was found among the collection of charters of France, letters of nobility, granted by Philip I. in 1095, to a burgher of Paris, named Eudes le Maire; and St. Lewis undoubtedly made his barber, La Broſſe, noble, in creating him his chamberlain. Philip III. who ennobled his banker Raoul, was not, as ſome ſay, the firſt king who aſſumed the privilege of changing the condition of his ſubjects. Philip the Fair did, in like manner, beſtow the title of noble and eſquire, *miles*, on the burgher Bertrand, and ſome others. This example was followed by all other crowned heads. In the year 1339, Philip of Valois ennobled Simon de Luci, preſident of the parliament, and his wife Nicole Taupin.

In 1350, king John ennobled William de Dormans, his chancellor; for, at this time, the office of clerk, lawyer, or of the long robe, gave no rank among nobility, notwithſtanding that the clerks aſſumed the title of knights of the law, and batchelors of law. Thus we find John Paſtourel, the king's advocate, ennobled, together with his wife Sédille, by Charles V. in 1354.

On the other hand, the kings of England created counts and barons, who had neither county nor barony. The emperors exerciſed the ſame privilege in Italy; and after their example, the poſſeſſors of great fiefs took the

ſame

ſame liberty. We have even an inſtance of a count de Foix, who aſſumed the power of ennobling, and by this means of correcting the deficiency of fortune in birth. He granted a patent of nobility to one maſter Bertrand, his chancellor, and the deſcendants of this Bertram called themſelves noble; but it was at the option of the king and the reſt of the nobles to acknowledge this title or not. Private lords of Orange, of Saluces, and many others, aſſumed the ſame licence.

The military body of Frank-archers and *Taupins*, in the reign of Charles VII. being exempted from the payment of taxes, thereupon aſſumed the titles of noble, and eſquire, without any permiſſion, and theſe titles were afterwards confirmed by time, which eſtabliſhes and overturns all cuſtoms and privileges; and ſeveral great families in France are deſcendants of theſe Taupins, who made themſelves noble, and who merited that title on having ſerved their country.

The emperors not only created nobles without lands, but counts palatine alſo. This title was given to the doctors of the univerſities. The emperor, Charles IV. firſt introduced this cuſtom, and Bartolus was the firſt on whom he conferred the title of count, which, however, did no more entitle the deſcendants of this Bartolus to a ſeat in the chapters, than it would thoſe of the Taupins.

The popes, who pretended to be ſuperior to the emperor, thought it concerned their dignity to create palatines and marquiſſes alſo; and the legate, who governed the provinces belonging to the holy ſee, were very laviſh in conferring.

ning theſe titles; hence it comes that there are ſo many more counts and marquiſſes in Italy than feudal lords.

In France, after Philip the Fair had eſtabliſhed the court called parliament, the lords of fiefs, who had ſeats in that court, were obliged to avail themſelves of the aſſiſtance of clerks, taken either from among the lower rank of people, or the bodies of frank, grand, or petty burghers. Theſe clerks quickly aſſumed the title of knights and batchelors, in imitation of the nobility; but it is plain that the title of knight, which was given them by their clients, did not make them nobles at court, ſince the attorney-general Paſtourel, and the chancellor Dormans, were obliged to take letters (patents) of nobility for themſelves. The ſtudents of the univerſities took the title of batchelor, after paſſing one examination, and that of licentiate after the ſecond, not daring to aſſume that of knight.

It may appear to have been a great contradiction, that the profeſſors of the law, who had a right to ſit in judgment on the nobles, ſhould not themſelves enjoy the right of nobility. This however was really the caſe in all countries; but in France indeed, they enjoyed the ſame privilege of exemption as the nobles, during their own lives. It is true, that their rights did not entitle them to ſit in the general aſſembly of the ſtates, as lords of fiefs, to carry a bird on their fief, or to ſerve in perſon in the field, but only conſiſted in not paying the taille, and in being called *Meſſire* *.

* A complimentary term, much like that of *Your Worſhip*, given to our juſtices of the peace.

France

France has been always remarkable for the mutability of its laws and cuſtoms, the former of which have never been ſufficiently clear and well underſtood. The bar has always been in a fluctuating ſtate. The courts of juſtice, which the French call parliaments, have frequently determined on the pretenſions of children of officers of the long robe to the right of nobility. In 1540, the parliament of Paris decreed that the children of the king's attorney, Jean le Maitre, had a right to inherit as noble. Afterwards, namely in 1578, it gave a like decree in favour of a chancellor, named Menagert but the civilians were divided in their opinion concerning theſe rights, which had been inſenſibly annexed to the long robe by cuſtom. Louet, a counſellor of the parliament, pretended that the children of magiſtrates could inherit only as commoners, and that none but grand-children were entitled by birth-right to the rank of gentlemen.

The court, however, did not regulate its opinion by that of the civilians; for, in the year 1582, Henry III. declared, by an edict, "that "no one, except thoſe of a noble houſe and family, ſhould preſume thenceforth to take the "title of noble, or name of eſquire."

Henry IV. ſhewed himſelf leſs ſtrict and more juſt, when, in his edict concerning the regulation of the taxes iſſued in the year 1600, he declared (though in very vague terms) "that "thoſe who had ſerved the nation in honourable poſts, might begin to give a right of no-"bility to their poſterity."

This diſpute, of ſo many ages ſtanding, ſeemed happily terminated by Lewis XIV. in the month

month of July 1644; but the event proved otherwiſe. We muſt here ſtep a little aſide from the order of time, in order to throw as much light upon this matter as poſſible. You will find in the age of Lewis XIV.* the civil war that was excited in Paris during that prince's minority. It was during this war, and in the year 1644, that the parliament of Paris, the chamber of accounts, the court of aids, and all the other courts of the provinces, obtained "the privileges of nobles by birth, gentlemen "and barons of the kingdom," to deſcend to the children of counſellors and preſidents, who ſhould have ſerved twenty years, or have died in the exerciſe of their offices. By this edict their rank ſeemed aſcertained.

Could any one then think that Lewis XIV. would, in 1669, himſelf ſitting in parliament, reſume theſe privileges, and only maintain all theſe officers of juſtice in the employment of *their ancient privileges*, revoking all the rights of nobility which he had granted to them in 1644, and afterwards till this very year 1669?

Lewis XIV. with all his power, has not been able to deprive ſuch a number of citizens of a right which he beſtowed on them under his own hand. It is not very eaſy for one man to oblige ſo many others to ſtrip themſelves of what they have looked upon as a part of their property. The edict of 1644 has therefore prevailed, and the courts of judicature have enjoyed the rights of nobility; the nation not chuſing to conteſt this point with thoſe whoſe office it is to judge the nation.

* *See vol. vi.* of this work.

While

While the magiſtrates of the ſuperior were thus diſputing about their rank, fr year 1300, the burgher and officers of the were in a ſtill more uncertain ſtate. C V. called *le ſage*, for having gained the tions of the citizens of Paris, granted th veral of the privileges of nobility, ſuch as ing coat-armour, and holding fiefs witho ing the fine, which is called the tax of fiefs: but Henry continued this privilege prevoſt of the merchants, and four echev theriffs.) The mayors and theriffs of towns in France enjoy the ſame rights, fr ancient cuſtoms, others by grant.

The moſt ancient grant of nobility g the office of the pen in France, was tha king's ſecretaries. Theſe were originall the ſecretaries of ſtate are at preſent, an called (*clercs du ſecret*) clerks of the privy cil: now, as they wrote immediately un kings, and forwarded all their orders, it ſ cd but juſt that they ſhould enjoy ſom of diſtinction: and the privilege of which were entitled to after 20 years ſerved as a model to the officers of the c judicature.

title of *monſigneur*, which was formerly given only to princes and to knights, and at the ſame time the king's ſecretaries are confined to the chancery, where their whole office conſiſts in ſigning patents. The number of theſe uſeful members have been augmented to three hundred, ſolely for the ſake of raiſing money; and this ſhameful method has perpetuated the French nobility in upwards of ſix thouſand families, whoſe chiefs ſucceſſively bought their offices for a ſtipulated ſum.

A prodigious number of ſubjects, of other denominations, ſuch as bankers, ſurgeons, merchants, houſhold-ſervants to princes, and clerks in offices, have obtained letters of nobility, and in the courſe of a few generations wrote themſelves, in any public proceedings, moſt high and mighty lords. Titles of this kind have debaſed the antient nobility, and have done no great honour to the new.

The perſonal ſervice of the ancient knights and eſquires being at length wholly laid aſide, and the general aſſembly of the ſtates being no longer aſſembled, the privileges of both ancient and modern nobility are now limited to the payment of the capitation (poll tax) inſtead of the taille. Thoſe, whoſe fathers were neither ſheriffs nor counſellors, nor ennobled perſons, have been diſtinguiſhed by appellations which are now become offenſive, ſuch as *villains* and *roturiers*, (i. e. peaſants.)

The term *villain* comes from *villa*, a town or city, becauſe formerly only nobles were lords of caſtles, and *roturier* from *ruptura terræ*, the breaking up of the land, huſbandry; hence it has fallen out more than once, that a lieute-

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nant-general of the forces, a brave officer, covered with ſcars, has been obliged to pay the taille, while the ſon of a clerk in an office has enjoyed the ſame privileges as the firſt officers of the crown. This ſhameful abuſe was not remedied till the year 1752, by Mr. d'Argenſon, ſecretary at war, who has ſerved the army more than any other miniſter, and to whoſe merit I the more readily do juſtice in this place, as he has been lately degraded.

The ridiculous multiplicity of nobles, without office, or real nobility, this debaſing diſtinction between the uſeleſs noble, who pays nothing to the ſtate, and the uſeful plebeian, who contributes his ſhare to the taxes; thoſe poſts which are only obtained by money, and which confer the empty title of eſquire, are abuſes which we don't meet with in any other country, and are the effects of a kind of frantic deſire in a government, to ſtamp a mark of depredation on the major part of the nation. In England, whoever is poſſeſſed of an eſtate of forty ſhillings per annum, in land, is a freeholder, a free-born Engliſhman, and has a right to the nomination of his repreſentatives in parliament. Every one who is not a handicraft trade is a gentleman, and there are no nobles in the ſtrictneſs of the term, but thoſe who repreſent the ancient barons and peers of the realm, in the upper houſe, (or houſe of lords.)

There are many free ſtates in which the privileges of birth are of no advantage, and in which they admit only thoſe of citizen; and even in the city of Baſil, no gentleman can hold any office in the republic, unleſs he relinquiſhes his privileges of a gentleman; and yet in every free

ſtate

ſtate the magiſtrates only take the title of *nobilis*, noble. It is without diſpute the moſt eminent nobility to have been at the head of a republic, from father to ſon; but ſuch is the force of cuſtom and prejudice, that four hundred years poſſeſſion of ſo refined a dignity, would not exempt the bearer in France from paying the taille, nor gain him admittance into the moſt inconſiderable chapter in Germany.

Theſe cuſtoms form a complicated picture of human vanity and inconſtancy; but happily it is the leaſt melancholy part of the hiſtory of human kind.

Of TOURNAMENTS or JOUSTS.

THE tournaments, ſo long time famous throughout chriſtendom, and ſo often anathematized, were games far more noble than the wreſtling, the throwing of the diſque, or the races of the Greeks, and not near ſo barbarous as the fights of gladiators among the Romans. Our tournaments bore no reſemblance to theſe ancient diverſions, but were much of the ſame kind with the military exerciſes ſo common in old times, and the games which we find deſcribed in Homer. Theſe warlike games firſt took their riſe in Italy, in the reign of Theodoric, who ſuppreſſed the gladiators of the 5th century, not by a prohibitory edict, but by reproaching the Romans with this barbarous cuſtom, in order that they might learn politeneſs of a Goth. After this there were frequently military games in Italy, and particularly in the kingdom of Lombardy, as alſo petty combats, called *battagliole*, which are ſtill kept up in the cities of Venice and Piſa.

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This cuſtom was ſoon adopted by other nations, Nithard tells us, that in the year 870, the ſons of Lewis the Feeble, celebrated their reconciliation by ſolemn tilts, which were afterwards called tournaments; and in which, ſays he, *Ex utraque parte, alter in alterum veloci curſu ruebant* *.

The emperor Henry, the Fowler, celebrated his coronation in 920 by one of theſe military entertainments, in which the parties fought on horſeback. The preparations were as ſplendid as could be in a country ſo poor, that it had not one fortified town but what had been built by the Romans along the banks of the Rhine.

This cuſtom became general in France, England, Spain, and among the Mooriſh nations. We know that Geofroi de Preciellí, a knight of Touraine, compiled certain laws to be obſerved in the celebration of theſe games towards the end of the 11th century. Some pretend that the name of tournament came from the city of Tours, for the combatants did not turn in theſe exerciſes as they did in the chariot races among the Greeks and Romans. But it is more probable, that tournament was derived from the ſword with a turned point, *enſis torneaticus*, in law-latin, it not being permitted in theſe games to ſtrike with any other pointed weapons but the lance. Theſe games were, at their firſt inſtitution, called by the French, *empriſes*, *feats of arms*, the word *feat* ſhewed that the combat was not to be mortal. Theſe games were alſo called *Behourdis*, from the name of an armour, or breaſt plate, with which their horſes were co-

* Either party ran at each other full ſpeed.

vered

vered. René of Anjou, king of Sicily and Jeruſalem, and duke of Lorrain, though not in poſſeſſion of a foot of either of theſe dominions, who was very fond of making verſes and tournaments, made alſo ſeveral new rules and orders to be obſerved in thoſe paſtimes.

"Whoſoever, ſays he, in his laws, will hold "a tournament or jouſt (behourdi) muſt be a "prince, or at leaſt a high baron." The perſon who held the tournament ſent an herald with a ſword to the prince whom he invited, deſiring him to appoint judges of the field.

"Tournaments, ſays good king René, may "be of abundant utility, inaſmuch as it may hap- "pen that ſome young knight or eſquire, by "his atchievements therein, may acquire the "good graces or greater affection of the lady "whom he ſerveth."

Then follow the ſeveral ceremonies to be obſerved in theſe exerciſes, ſuch as the hanging the armorial enſigns or banners of the contending knights or eſquires at the windows, or on the galleries round the liſt.

Every thing was done in honour of the ladies. According to the laws of good king René, they were to examine the arms of the combatants, and to diſtribute the prizes to the victors, and if any knight or eſquire, who was a candidate at theſe tournaments had ſpoken ill of any lady, the other candidates beat him with their ſwords till the ladies cried out *grace*, (or enough!) or elſe he was placed aſtride on the rails that went round the liſt, as a ſoldier is now ſet upon the wooden horſe.

Beſides theſe tournaments, there were likewiſe *pas d'armes*, and of theſe amuſements king René was likewiſe the law-giver. The *pas d'armes*

René had much better have tried his fki
ter into Sicily or Lorrain. The devi∫
gallant prince was a chaffing-di∫h full of l
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minions which he had loſt, but for the c
mademoiſelle Gui de Laval, with whon
in love, and whom he married after the
his wife Iſabella of Lorrain.

The∫e antient tournaments firſt gav
armorial bearings, about the beginnin
12th century: and whatever of that
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dently fictitious, as are likewiſe the
laws of the knights of the round table
talked of in romance. Every knight
ſented himſelf at the liſt with his beav
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or ſymbols painted on his ſhield, or coa
Hence came the knights of the eagle, o
&c. names ſo famous in the writings

crated by neceſſity; and yet it was at this very period that the popes thought proper to prohibit them, and to anathematize an image of war, when they themſelves were perpetually ſtirring up real ones. Among others Nicholas III. that pontiff who had adviſed the maſſacre of the Sicilian veſpers, excommunicated all thoſe who had engaged in, or were even preſent at a tournament held in France by Philip the Bold in 1279. But there were other popes who approved of theſe combats; and king John of France entertained pope Urban V. with one of theſe ſhews, when, after his return from his captivity in England, he went to take up the croſs at Avignon on the mad project of fighting againſt the Turks, inſtead of ſetting himſelf to repair the diſaſters of his own kingdom.

Tournaments were not admitted into the Greek empire till very late. The Greeks in general held all the cuſtoms of the weſt in contempt; they deſpiſed the badge of coat-armour, and treated the ſcience of heraldry as ridiculous. At length in 1326 the young emperor Andronicus, having eſpouſed a princeſs of the houſe of Savoy, ſome young gentlemen of that country gave the diverſion of a tournament at Conſtantinople, and the Greeks from thence became accuſtomed to theſe military exerciſes. But the Turks were not to be reſiſted by tournaments; it required well diſciplined armies, and an able government, two things which the Greeks were ſcarcely now maſters of.

The cuſtom of holding tournaments kept its footing throughout all Europe. One of the moſt ſolemn and magnificent was that which was held at Boulogne-ſur-mer in the year 1309, on

the occasion of the marriage of Isabella of Fra[illegible] with king Edward II. of England. Edward III. [illegible] two very fine ones afterwards in London. There [illegible] even one held at Paris in the year 1415, du[illegible] the unfortunate reign of Charles VI. After [illegible] came those of René of Anjou, of which we [illegible] already spoken. They continued to be very [illegible]quent till the death of Henry II. of France, [illegible] as we all know, was killed at one of these di[illegible]sions in the palace of the Tournelles in the [illegible] 1559. This accident one would ima[illegible] should have put a final stop to them.

But the idle lives of the Greeks, joined to [illegible] and a natural inclination, revived these bl[illegible] amusements at Orleans in less than a ye[illegible] [illegible] the magical end of Henry II. Here [illegible] Henry de Bourbon Montpensier was the [illegible] by a [illegible] his horse, which cost him his [illegible] This put a total stop to tournaments. But [illegible] still [illegible] a faint image of them in the [illegible] [illegible] by Charles IX. and Henry III. [illegible] massacre of St. Bartholomew; [illegible] festivals and proscriptions alwa[illegible] [illegible] hand. These *pas d'armes* were n[illegible] [illegible] with any danger, as the combata[illegible] [illegible] only with blunt weapons. There w[illegible] [illegible]ment held on the marriage of the du[illegible] [illegible] in 1581; the word tournament i[illegible] [illegible] improperly applied by L'Etoile in th[illegible] [illegible] he gives us of these diversions in hi[illegible] The grandees did not fight at all; an[illegible] [illegible] tournament was only a kind o[illegible] [illegible] exhibited in the gardens of th[illegible] [illegible]ed performers, and was a shew [illegible] court, and not given by the cour[illegible] itself

itſelf. The games which afterwards went by the name of tournaments were only carouſals *.

We may therefore date the ſuppreſſion of tournaments from the year 1560. With them expired the ſpirit of chivalry, which appeared no more afterwards but in romance. This ſpirit prevailed greatly in the reign of Francis I. and the emperor Charles V. Philip II. who ſeldom ſtirred out of his own palace, encouraged no merit but that of a blind ſubmiſſion to his will. After the death of Henry II. France was plunged in fanaticiſm, and deſolated by religious wars. Germany divided between the Roman Catholic, Lutheran, and Calviniſt factions, forgot the ancient cuſtoms of chivalry; and in Italy they were loſt in the ſpirit of intrigue.

The *pas d'armes*, the combats of the liſts, and the imitation of the ancient tournaments, every where aboliſhed, were ſucceeded by the bull-fight in Spain, and carouſals in France, Italy, and Germany. It would be ſuperfluous to give a deſcription of theſe games in this place, after that which we have given of the grand one held by Lewis XIV. in the age of that monarch †. The laſt carouſal which was held was that at Berlin in the year 1750, which was finely executed, and at which the brothers of the king of Pruſſia diſtinguiſhed themſelves greatly by their ſkill and addreſs. All theſe military games begin now to be entirely out of uſe; and of the many exerciſes which formerly rendered the body ſo robuſt and agile, none now remain, but that of hunting, and even this is greatly neglected of late by the crown-

* Vol. III. chap. C. pag. 296.
† Vol. VI.

ed heads of Europe. Pleaſures have had revolutions as well as every other thing.

Of DUELS.

THE manner of educating our nobility ly encouraged the practice of duelling, has been of ſo long continuance, and had ginning with our modern monarchies. Th tom of deciding the merits of a cauſe by combat was known only to the Chriſtians Weſt. We hear of no duels among thoſe eaſtern church: and the ancients were utter gers to this barbarous practice. Cæſar indee us in his Commentaries, that two of his ce ons, who had been always jealous of, and mity with each other, decided their quarre challenge, but this challenge was to ſhew of them ſhould perform the moſt valiant fe battle. One of them, after having ſlain a number of the enemy with his own hand, at length wounded and thrown to the g himſelf, his competitor ſtept in and reſcuec Such were the duels of the Romans.

The moſt ancient example of duels comm ed by the ſovereign, is in the law of Gond the Burgundian, a German by family, wh uſurped the dukedom of Burgundy. This thod of judgment was eſtabliſhed throughou the Weſt. The old Catalan law quoted l learned du Cange, and the German and I rian laws, mention ſeveral caſes in which th ties were ordered to determine the diſpute by gle combat.

In the assizes held by the crusards at Jerusalem, we find the law run thus, "Le garant que "l'on lieve, si come es par pu doit répondre a "qui li lieve, Tu ments et te rendrai mort ô "recréan et vessi mon gage *."

The ancient Normand customary says, "Plainte de meurtre doit être faite; et si l'accusé nie, "il en offre gage——et bataille li doit être ot"troyée par justice †."

It is evident by these laws that a man accused of one murder had a right to commit two. Even civil matters were often terminated by these bloody issues. If two parties disputed an inheritance with each other, he who had the best sword was held to have the best right; and differences between fellow citizens were decided like those between nations by force of arms.

This law procedure experienced its changes like all other human institutions, whether wise or foolish. St. Lewis enacted that an esquire, if accused by a villain (i. e. a peasant) might fight on horseback, and that a villain accused by an esquire must fight on foot. He exempts youths under twenty-one years of age from the laws of duelling, and old persons above sixty.

The women and priests had the naming of the champions who were to cut each other's throats in their name; and the success and honour of a family depended on a lucky choice. It sometimes happened, that churchmen themselves offered

* The meaning of which is, that the party accused shall say to the accuser, thou lieſt, and I will either make thee recant, or thou shalt die by my hand, and here is my gage (or token of defiance.)

† That is, complaint of murder must be made, and if the accused party denies the charge, he offers challenge, in which case the law must grant him combat.

and accepted combat, and fought within enclosed ground. By the conſtitutions of William the Conqueror, it appears that no clerk or abbot could engage in ſingle combat without permiſſion firſt had of their biſhops, "Si clericus duellum ſine "epiſcopi licentia ſuſceperit, &c."

By the laws of St. Lewis, and other precedents quoted by du Cange, it ſeems that thoſe who were defeated were ſometimes hanged, and ſometimes beheaded or diſmembered. Theſe were called laws of honour, and authorized under the ſeal of this kingly ſaint, who is ſaid to have wanted to aboliſh this cuſtom worthy only of ſavages.

Juſtice was ſo far improved in the reign of Lewis the Young, that he iſſued an order in 1168, that ſingle combat ſhould be ordered only in caſes where the ſum exceeded five crowns, "quinque "ſolidos."

Philip the Fair publiſhed a large code of duels. If the appellant had a mind to fight by party, and name a champion to defend his cauſe, he was to ſay, "Our ſovereign lord the king, by le-"gal eſſoin of my body (i. e. through bodily "weakneſs or diſeaſe) I claim and demand to "have ſuch a gentleman for my champion, "who may in my preſence, if ſo I can, or in "my abſence with the help of God, of our "holy lady, and monſeigneur St. George, do "true and loyal ſervice in my name, and at "my hazard, &c."

The two adverſaries, or their champions in their ſtead, appeared on a day appointed within a liſt eighty paces in length, and forty wide, attended by the ſerjeants at arms. They were to come "mounted on horſeback with their vizers "down, their ſhields ſlung acroſs their ſhoulders, their

"their faulcheons in their hands, and their ſwords "and daggers girt to their ſides." They were enjoined to bear a crucifix, or an image of the virgin Mary, or of ſome ſaint in their banners. The heralds at arms made the ſpectators range themſelves on the outſide of the liſts on foot. No one being permitted to be preſent on horſeback, under pain of loſing his horſe if a nobleman, and if a commoner, of loſing one ear.

The marſhal of the field, aſſiſted by a prieſt, ſwore the two combatants on a crucifix, that their right was good, and that they made uſe of no enchanted arms, taking monſeigneur St. George to witneſs, and renouncing heaven, if they ſpoke falſe. Theſe blaſphemous ceremonies over, the marſhal cried out with a loud voice, "Let them "go on;" and then, throwing down a glove, the combatants went to work, and the arms of the vanquiſhed was the marſhal's fee.

Much the ſame kind of forms were obſerved in England. But in Germany they differed conſiderably. We read in the Theatre of Honour, and in ſeveral other antient chronicles, that, in general the village of Hall in Suabia was the place for theſe combats. The two parties applied to the aſſembly of the Notables, who are the chief magiſtrates of Suabia, for permiſſion to enter the liſts. On theſe occaſions, they aſſigned to each combatant a godfather and a confeſſor; the people chanted a *libera* *; a bier ſurrounded by torches, and deſigned to receive the lifeleſs corpſe of the vanquiſhed

* *Libera nos, Domine,* A kind of hymn in the Romiſh maſs book.

year 1547. La Chataigneraye had accuſed Jarnac with laying with his mother-in-law; but was this a reaſon for a king, with the advice of his council, to order two of his ſubjects to butcher one another in his preſence? but ſuch were the manners of the times. The two champions ſwore each upon the holy goſpels, that he fought in the cauſe of truth, and that "he carried about him neither charms, ſpells, nor incantations." La Chataigneraye dying of his wounds, Henry II. made a vow never more to order duels; and the next year, he, in council, iſſued letters patent, injoining two young gentlemen to fight within the liſts at Sedan, under the inſpection of the marſhal de la Marck, prince of Sedan. Henry thought he had not broke his oath, becauſe he ordered the parties to go and murder each other out of his kingdom. The court of Lorraine oppoſed in form this honour conferred on the marſhal de la Marck, and ſent a proteſt to Sedan, alledging that all duels between the Rhine and the Maeſe were, according to the laws of the empire, to be fought only by order, and in the preſence, of the ſovereign of Lorraine. Notwithſtanding this, the field was marked out in Sedan. The motive of this order of Henry and his council, was that one of theſe gentlemen, named D'Ageures, had put his hand into the breeches of a young man, named Fendilles. Fendilles, being wounded, confeſſed the accuſation to have been falſe; upon which he was thrown out of the liſts by the heralds at arms, and his arms broken: this was one of the puniſhments inflicted on the vanquiſhed party. It would be difficult in our days to conceive how ſo ridiculous an affair could

could have been thought worthy of being decided by combat.

We muſt not confound theſe duels, which may be looked upon as judgments of the almighty, with the ſingle combats between the chiefs of two armies, or the knights of two adverſe parties. Theſe latter were feats of arms, and military exploits, which have ever been in uſe among all nations.

It is hard to determine, whether we ought to rank ſeveral cartels of defiance between king and king, and prince and prince, in the number of legal duels, or among the exploits of chivalry: there have been inſtances of both kinds.

When Charles of Anjou, brother to St. Lewis, and Peter of Arragon, defied each other to combat, after the maſſacre of the Sicilian veſpers, they agreed to ſtake the juſtice of their cauſe upon a ſingle combat, with the permiſſion of pope Martin IV. as ſays John Baptiſt Caraffa, in his hiſtory of Naples. King Philip the Bald appointed Bourdeaux for the place of combat. Nothing could more reſemble the old legal duels: Charles of Anjou came to the rendezvous the morning of the day appointed, and took out an action of default againſt his adverſary, who did not arrive till the ſame evening. Peter, in return, took out another action of default againſt Charles, for not having waited for him. This ſingular challenge would have been ranked in the number of legal combats, if theſe two kings had had as great an inclination to fight with, as to brave, each other. The duel which Edward III. propoſed to Philip of Valois comes within

within the rules of chivalry. Philip refuſed his challenge, alledging that a vaſſal could not challenge his lord-paramount; but afterwards, when the vaſſal had defeated the army of his lord, Philip offered him combat; and Edward, who was then conqueror, refuſed it, ſaying that he was too wiſe to put to the hazard of a ſingle combat what he had gained by many battles.

The emperor Charles V. and Francis I. defied each other, ſent mutual challenges, gave each other the *lie in the throat*, but never fought. There is not a ſingle inſtance of one king fighting againſt another within liſts; but incredible is the number of knights who laviſhed their blood in theſe exploits.

We have already taken notice of the challenge of a duke of Bourbon, who to keep himſelf from idleneſs, propoſed a combat to extremity in honour of the ladies.

One of the moſt famous challenges is that of John de Warchin, a knight of great renown, and ſeneſchal (or grand bailiff) of Hainault, who cauſed to be fixed up in all the capital cities of Europe, that he would fight *à outrance*, to extremity, either ſingle, or himſelf with other five perſons, with ſword, lance, and battle-axe, "with the help of God, of the Holy Virgin, "and monſeigneur St. George and his lady." The combat was to be in a village of Flanders, named Conchy; but no perſon appearing to enter the liſts, with this Flemiſh hero, he made a vow to go in ſearch of adventures throughout France and Spain, conſtantly armed cap-a-pie; after which he went and made an offering of his bourdon,

don, or ſtaff, at the ſhrine of monſeigneur James in Galicia. By this you may ſee the original of Quixotiſm was in Flanders.

he moſt horrible duel that was ever pro-l, and which nevertheleſs was the moſt ex-ple, was that of Arnold, or Arnaud, the duke of Gueldres, whoſe territories fell to Burgundy branch of the houſe of France, af-ards belonged to the Auſtro-Spaniſh branch, one part of which is ſtill free.

dolphus, ſon to this duke Arnaud, took up againſt his father in the year 1470, in the of Charles the Raſh, duke of Burgundy; this Adolphus declared publickly, in the nce of Charles, that his father had been in ſſion of the dukedom long enough, and that as determined to enjoy it in his turn, and if his father would accept of a ſmall pen-of 3000 florins, he would give it him wil-. Charles, who before his misfortunes was powerful, cited both father and ſon to ap-before him; the father, though old and in-threw down his pledge of combat, and nded permiſſion of the duke of Burgundy ght his ſon in his court. The ſon accepted challenge, but duke Charles would not per-he combat; and the father, having with juſtice diſinherited his unnatural and re-us ſon, and given his dominions to Charles, unfortunate prince loſt them all, together his own and his life, in a war ſtill more t than any of the duels we have been re-

he chief thing which contributed to the eſſing this cuſtom, was the new method of ng introduced into the armies. King

Henry

[illegible] the [illegible] of [illegible] which the [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

an oath to fight one before the expiration of the year. This horrid cuſtom continued till the reign of Lewis XIV.

Of EUROPE, in the Fifteenth Century.

SPAIN.

Vol. III. chap. lxxxv. page 159. THE baſtard Traſtamare, a rebel againſt his lawful king, had been formerly acknowleged king himſelf, and now they dethrone their lawful ſovereign, and decared his daughter * illegitimate, though publickly born of the queen, and acknowledged by her father as his own child.

* * *

Id. page 161.] Never was injuſtice better coloured, ſucceeded more fortunately, or was juſtified by a more daring and prudent conduct. Iſabella and Ferdinand eſtabliſhed ſuch a power in Spain, as had never been known ſince the reſtoration of the chriſtians. The Moors were now in poſſeſſion only of Granada, and drew near to their ruin in that part of Europe, while the Turks ſeemed on the point of ſubduing the other. The Chriſtians had loſt Spain in the beginning of the eighth century, by their mutual diſcords and diviſions; the ſame cauſe drove the Moors at length out of Spain.

* Joan, daughter to Henry IV. king of Caſtile.

Of

we find, that it coſt ſix marks ſterling to redeem any eſtate out of the hands of a Jewiſh mortgagee.

They were at different times driven out of almoſt all the towns in Chriſtendom, and almoſt as continually recalled. Rome alone has conſtantly kept them within her boſom. They were totally driven out of France, in the year 1394, by Charles VI. and could never afterwards obtain permiſſion to reſide in Paris, where they had formerly occupied ſeveral whole ſtreets. In Metz and Bourdeaux, they are permitted the uſe of ſynagogues, only becauſe they were found in poſſeſſion of that privilege at the time theſe towns were annexed to the crown of France; but they have conſtantly remained uninterrupted in Avignon, which is a part of the pope's territories. In a word, they were every where uſurers, in virtue of the privilege and benediction of their own law, and every where held in deteſtation on that very account.

Their famous rabbins, Maimonides, Abarbanel, Aben Ezra, and others, in vain repeated to the chriſtians, in all their writings, We are your fathers, our ſcripture is yours, our books are read in your churches, and our hymns are ſung there; they were anſwered only by being plundered, exiled, and hanged between two dogs. In Spain and Portugal, it became a faſhion to burn theſe unhappy people. Late times have been more favourable to them, eſpecially in Holland and England; where they are ſuffered to enjoy their riches, and all the rights of ſociety, of which no one is deprived in thoſe countries. They were even on the point of obtaining a general act of naturalization in England,

and, in the year 1750, nay the act had actually paſſed for that purpoſe; but, at length, the univerſal cry of the nation, and the ridicule that was caſt upon the ſcheme, cauſed it to be repealed. Numberleſs were the burleſque prints and ſatyrical writings, publiſhed on this occaſion, in ſome of which my lord Aaron and viſcount Judah were repreſented ſitting in the houſe of lords; the people laughed, and the Jews comforted themſelves with being rich and free.

It is no ſlight proof of the capriciouſneſs of the human mind, to ſee the deſcendants of Jacob carried in proceſſion to be burnt at Liſbon, and, at the ſame time, candidates for the moſt diſtinguiſhed privileges of a Britiſh ſubject. In Turkey, they are neither burnt nor admitted to honours; but they have made themſelves the ſole maſter of the commerce of that country, and neither the French, the Venetians, the Engliſh, nor the Dutch, can either buy or ſell there, but through the intervention of the Jews. It was an inevitable conſequence of the legiſlation of this people, that they were to be conquerors or ſlaves. They were commanded to hold every other nation in abhorrence, and to look upon themſelves as defiled, if they only eat out of the ſame diſh with any one of a different faith. They gave the name of *the Nations* to about twenty or thirty ſmall villages round about them, whom they were determined to deſtroy, and with whom they thought it a crime to have any thing in common. When their eyes were a little opened by other victorious nations, who taught them to their coſt, that the world was larger than they imagined; their very law made them ene-

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mies

mies to these nations, and, in short, to all mankind. They obstinately persevered in their absurd policy, when it was their interest to have changed it; their superstition encreased with their misfortunes; and their conquerors were an uncircumcised people. A Jew thought himself as much forbidden to eat out of the same dish with a Roman, as with an Amalekite. They retained all their customs, which were diametrically opposite to those of society in general; and accordingly they were deservedly treated as a people who set themselves up against all others.

Of the people called BOHEMIANS, EGYPTIANS, or GYPSIES.

THERE was at this time another petty nation as unsettled, and as much dispersed, as the Jews, and who followed another method of rapine. These were a collection of strange people, known in France by the name of *Bohemians*, in other countries they were called *Egyptians*, *Gypsies*, or *Syrians*, and in Italy *Zingani*, or *Zingari*. They wandered in troops or companies from one end of Europe to the other, with tabors and pipes, and castenetts, dancing, telling fortunes, shewing tricks of legerdemain, curing diseases with certain cant words, stealing every thing that came in their way. They observed certain religious ceremonies among themselves, of which neither they nor any one else knew the meaning, or the origin. These have dwindled away considerably since mankind have begun to throw

ow off the infatuated notions of witchcraft, iſmans, predictions, and poſſeſſions by evil rits. There are ſtill ſome few of them to be et with, but they become very ſcarce. Noing appears more probable, than that thoſe etches were a remnant of the antient prieſts d prieſteſſes of Iſis, intermixed with thoſe of e goddeſs of the Aſſyrians. Theſe wandering bes, as much deſpiſed by the Romans as their nceſtors had formerly been reverenced, carried eir ceremonies, and their mercenary ſuperſtions with them all over the world. True miſonaries-errant of the faith they profeſſed, they n from province to province to make converts thoſe, upon whom mere chance had confirmd their predictions, or who, having recovered y the courſe of nature from ſome ſlight diſorers, imagined they owed their cure to the miraculous efficacy of certain unintelligible words nd ſigns of theſe falſe prophets. The deſcription hich Apuleius gives us of theſe vagabond prohets and propheteſſes, is the very picture of hat thoſe wandering tribes, called Bohemians r Gypſies, have for a long time been in every ountry in Europe. Their caſtenetts and tabor nd pipe are the cymbels and crotals of the ſean and Syrian prieſts. Apuleius, who ſpent noſt his life in ſearching after religious and nagic ſecrets, ſpeaks of the predictions, taliſnans, ceremonies, dances, and ſongs of theſe ilgrim prieſts, and, in particular, remarks their reat ſkill in ſtealing whatever came in their way, either in the court-yards, or houſes, where hey were admitted.

When chriſtianity took place of the religion of Numa, and that Theodoſius had deſtroyed

the

will forget their old jargon, which is no other than a corrupt medley of Hebrew and Syriac; and, loſt even to the knowledge of their own books, they will in time be confounded among the dregs of the people, with whom they live.

Of ITALY in the fifteenth Century.

Idem, page 168--171. FROM the affair of the aſſaſſination of the Medicis family, we may form a clear idea of the ſpirit and manner of theſe times; Sixtus IV. (La Roverre) was then ſovereign pontiff. I ſhall not here enter into an enquiry, as Machiavel has done, whether the Riario, whom he cauſed to paſs for his nephews, were his own children or not; nor with Michael Brutus, whether he begot them while he was only a cordelier friar? it is ſufficient to lead us to the knowledge of facts, that we are certain that he ſacrificed one of theſe ſuppoſed nephews to the intereſts of Jerome Riario. We have elſewhere obſerved, that the juriſdiction of the Holy See was not by a great deal ſo extenſive as it is at preſent. Sixtus IV. wanted to ſtrip the lords of Imola and Friuli of their poſſeſſions to enrich Jerome. The two brothers Medicis ſupported theſe princes with money and forces. The pope thought he could not ſecure his authority in Italy, but by the ruin of the Medicis family. A banker of Florence, named Piazzi, who had ſettled at Rome, and who was an enemy to the two brothers, offered his ſervice to the pope to get them aſſaſſinated. Cardinal *Raphael Riario*, Jerome's brother, was ſent *to Florence to manage* the plot, of which Sal-

and their friends, in the manner that t
ſins of Galeas Sforza had made choice
cathedral of Milan, and the feſtival of
phen, to murder that prince at the foo
altar. The inſtant of the elevation of
was the time pitched upon to ſtrike th
as then, the people being proſtrate, an
tive to the appearance of their God, w
in a condition to obſtruct the executio
cordingly, at that very moment, Julian
dicis was ſtabbed by a brother of Piaz
other of the conſpirators. Laurence
dicis was wounded by Stephano, but
mortally but that he had ſtrength en
take refuge in the ſacriſty or veſtry.

When we ſee a pope, an archbiſhop
prieſt, meditating ſuch a crime, and ch
the perpetration of it the very inſtant wh
God ſhews himſelf to them in his tem
cannot doubt of the atheiſm of thoſe
Certainly, if they had thought that the

argument. Men have taught us nothing but falſhoods, therefore there cannot be a God. Thus the religion of nature was ſtifled in the hearts of almoſt all thoſe who governed in thoſe days; and no age ever produced ſo many murders, poiſonings, treaſons, and debauchery of all kind.

Id. page 172.] The people of Florence, who loved the family of Medicis, revenged their deaths, with intereſt, on the bloody perpetrators. The biſhop was hanged at one of the windows of the public palace. Laurence had the generoſity, or prudence, to ſave the life of the cardinal's nephew, whom the enraged people were going to put to death, at the foot of that very altar which he had himſelf ſtained with blood, and whither he now fled for ſafety.

One extraordinary circumſtance attending this conſpiracy was, that Bernard Bendini, one of the aſſaſſins, who had retired into Turkey, was afterwards delivered up to Laurence de Medicis, by order of the ſultan Bajazet; who thus became an inſtrument of puniſhing a crime of which pope Sixtus had been the author. But, what was leſs extraordinary, the pope excommunicated the Florentines for having puniſhed a bloody conſpiracy, and even began war againſt them for it, which was happily terminated by the prudence of Medicis. You may ſee by this, what ſort of purpoſes religion and the papal cenſure were made to ſerve in thoſe days; days that teemed with crimes whoſe heinouſneſs exceeded the utmoſt ſtretch of imagination.

* * *

Ibid.] Laurence de Medicis equalled the great Coſmo in liberality, and ſurpaſſed him in

magnificence. Florence might then be
reſemble ancient Athens. There were,
and the ſame time, the prince Pico of M
dola, Politiano, Marcillo Ficino, Landino
caris, Calcondillo, Marcillo, whom Lau
had gathered about him, and who wer
haps ſuperior to the ſeven ſages of Gree
much boaſted of in hiſtory.

His ſon Peter, like him, held the ſupren
thority in Florence, and was almoſt ſovere
Tuſcany, at the time the French made the
pedition to Naples; but he was in muc
credit than either of his predeceſſors or d
dants.

Concluſion of the ARTICLE SAVO ROLA.

Vol. III. chap. lxxxvii. page 188.

METhinks I ſee you with an eye of co
ſeration on theſe ſcenes o
ſurdity and wickedneſs.
were the effects of the moſt infamous ſ
ſtiti n which ever debaſed the ſoul of
and the worſt of all poſſible governments.
conſider, that it is not long ſince we have e
ged from this darkneſs, and that we are n
yet altogether enlightened.

Of PICO de la MIRANDOLA

Vol. I. chap. lxxxviii.

THE hiſtory of this p
is merely that of a ſcl
of prodigious genius, wh
thr

through a vaſt career of errors, and, being blind himſelf, followed the ſteps of others as blind as himſelf.

Of Pope ALEXANDER VI.

Vol. III. chap. lxxxix. & xc.

GUicciardino believes that the lord of Farneza, named Aſtor, a young man of remarkable beauty, being delivered up to the pope's baſtard, was obliged to ſerve his beaſtly pleaſures, and was afterwards ſent, together with his natural brother, to the pope, who cauſed them both to be ſtrangled.

League of CAMBRAY, in 1508.

Vol. III. chap. xcii. page 212.

ALMOST all the powers who were at enmity with each other ſuſpended their diſputes, to join in the general league, ſet on foot at Cambray, againſt the Venetians. The Turk, who was the natural enemy of this republic, but then at peace with her, was the only power who did not accede to this treaty. Never were ſo many kings in league againſt ancient Rome. Venice was as rich as all the confederates together. To this reſource ſhe truſted, and to that diſſenſion which ſhe rightly judged would ſpeedily happen among ſo many confederates. It was in her power to pacify Julius II. who was the chief promoter of this league; but ſhe diſdained to make any conceſſion, and boldly

waited the coming of the ſtorm. This was perhaps the only time this republic was rich.

JULIUS II. againſt LEWIS XIV. in 1510.

Idem, page 217. THE operations were begun on the ſide of Bologna and Ferrara. Julius II. had already taken Bologna from the Bentivoglio, and he wanted to make himſelf maſter of Ferrara. By theſe invaſions, he deſtroyed the deſign he had formed of driving all ſtrangers out of Italy; for the people of Bologna and Ferrara, upon ſeeing themſelves attacked, naturally had recourſe to the French for aſſiſtance againſt him, who, after having been the avenger of Italy, was now become its oppreſſor. His ambition, which had overweighed all other conſiderations, plunged Italy into thoſe calamities, from which it would have been his glory to have delivered her, and ſuffered his intereſt, ſo far to get the better of prudence and decency, as to admit into Bologna a numerous body of Turks, who had come thither againſt the French army, commanded by Chaumont d'Amboiſe. We are indebted for the knowledge of this ſingular fact to Paul Jove, biſhop of Nocera, who was an eye-witneſs thereof. Several former popes had taken up arms againſt the Turks. Julius was the firſt who made uſe of their aſſiſtance.

CUS-

USTOMS of the Sixteenth Century.

l. III. chap. c. e 293. THE Greek comedy and tragedy were revived as ly as the beginning of the ſixteenth century, former by cardinal Bibiena, and the latter Triſſino, archbiſhop of Beneventum. Ruc- ai ſoon followed the archbiſhop. Some of beſt pieces of Plautus were tranſlated at Ve- e, and into verſe, which they ought to be, ce it was in verſe that Plautus wrote them. ey were performed with ſucceſs on the Ve- tian ſtage, and in thoſe monaſteries where lite learning was cultivated.

The Italians imitated the Greek tragedians, d Latin comediens; but could not equal em. However, they invented a new kind of aſtoral, in which they had no guide, and wherein they have never been ſurpaſſed. The Aminta of Taſſo, and Guarini's Paſtor Fi- do, ſtill continue to be the delight of all who underſtand the Italian tongue.

Almoſt all the civiliſed nations of Europe be- gan at that time to ſee the neceſſity of encou- raging the theatric art, which promotes ſociety, ſoftens the manners, and inculcates morality un- der the veil of pleaſure. The Spaniards came ſomewhat near to the Italians, but they could not produce any thing regular. There was a theatre in England, but it was ſtill more wild and irregular than that of the Spaniards. Shake- ſpeare indeed brought it into ſome degree credit towards the end of the ſixteenth centu His genius pierced thro' the barbarous darkneſs

the times, as that of Lopez de Vega did in Spain. It is much to be lamented, that we find ſo much more barbariſm than real genius in the works of Shakeſpeare: whence comes it, that almoſt every one in Stockholm and Peterſburgh know whole ſcenes of the Paſtor Fido by heart? while thoſe of Shakeſpeare have never paſſed the limits of their ſea-girt iſland? The reaſon is obvious; real merit will be ſought after by all nations: a people whoſe drama, muſic and painting, were adapted only to their own taſte, and exploded by every other polite nation, could not juſtly flatter themſelves with having the gift of good taſte.

The Italians were particularly ſucceſsful in thoſe poetical productions which were remarkable for their great length, which we would imagine were the moſt difficult of all others, on account of the conſtant ſameneſs of the verſe, and ſtanzas, which ſeems to be a cramp to their genius.

POLITE ARTS in the Sixteenth Century. The Invention of PRINTING.

Idem, page 305. THE parliament in 1474 ordered all the books which had been brought to Paris, by a factor from Mentz, to be ſeized.

Certainly a ſtep of this kind would not have been taken in the more enlightened times; but ſuch has always been the fate of public bodies, the moſt learned for their wiſdom, who have acted upon no other foundation than that of ancient forms and cuſtoms. Every thing that has the appearance of an innovation ſtartles them. They ſtand

ſtand up in oppoſition to the riſing arts, withſtand every truth that ſeems contradictory to the errors in which they have been trained up from their youth, and combat every thing that does not fall in with the taſte and manners of old times. It was this very kind of ſpirit that influenced the ſame parliament ſo long, and ſo vehemently, to oppoſe the reformation of the calendar, to forbid the teaching any other tenets than thoſe of Ariſtotle, to prohibit the adminiſtration of Venato, that obliged the court to iſſue ſeveral letters of Juſſieu, to make them regiſter the patent of nobility granted to one of the Montmorency family, and that induced them to oppoſe, for a conſiderable time, the eſtabliſhment of the French academy. As no one ſingle member of a public body is reſponſable for the proceedings of that body, the moſt irrational councils ſometimes paſs uncontradicted. This made the duke of Sully ſay, in his memoirs, "That if Wiſdom "was to deſcend upon earth, ſhe would rather "fix her reſidence in the head, than in thoſe of "a collective body."

Lewis XI. who never acted badly, where his intereſt was not concerned, and who was always governed by reaſon, when not blinded by his paſſions, took the cognizance of this affair from the parliament; he would not ſuffer the French nation to be for ever diſhonoured by prohibiting the art of printing; but ordered the artiſts of Mentz to be paid the full price of their books.

* * *

Ibid.] About an hundred artiſts of every kind formed that age, which the Italians diſtinguiſhed by the name of the *Seicento*. Several of theſe great geniuſes were unfortunate, and perſecuted;

ſecuted; but poſterity has revenged their memories. Their age, like all other ages, produced crimes and calamities, but had that advantage over other ages which ſuperiority of genius always beſtows. Thus it happened with the age that produced Sophocles and Demoſthenes, and with that which gave the world a Virgil and a Cato. Theſe men who, in their reſpective ſpheres, were the preceptors of the world, could not keep Alexander from killing Clytus, nor Auguſtus from ſigning preſcriptions. Neither could Racine, Corneille, and La Fontaine, prevent Lewis XIV. from committing great faults. Crimes and diſaſters have been the produce of every age; fine arts have had only four.

FRANCIS I. ſet at Liberty in 1526.

Vol. III. chap. ciii. page 22.

HENRY d'Albert, who was kept a priſoner in Pavia, found means to eſcape, and returned to France. Francis I. by being better guarded in Madrid, was obliged to purchaſe his liberty, by ceding to the emperor the whole duchy of Burgundy, a part of the Franche Compté, all the places he laid claim to on the other ſide of the Alps, the lordſhips of Flanders and Ortois, the towns of Arras, Liſle, Tournay, Mortagne, Hedin, St. Arnent, and Ochie; and, to complete his humiliation, he marries, while in priſon, the ſiſter of the emperor, his conqueror. The count de Lanoy, one of the emperor's generals, who had taken him priſoner, enters his apartment, booted, to oblige him to ſign this forced contract of marriage. The

treaty

treaty of Madrid proved as fatal as that of Bretigni had been; but Francis I. when at liberty, did not, like king John, fulfil his engagements.

* * *

Idem.] This unfortunate affair redounded very little to the glory of Francis I. He had given his promiſe to Charles V. to put him in poſſeſſion of Burgundy, a promiſe made with weakneſs, and falſified with reaſon, though with diſgrace. He underwent a ſevere reproach from the emperor for his breach of faith; and though he replied, "You lie in your throat, and every "time you ſay ſo, you lie," the law of policy was for Francis; but the laws of chivalry was againſt him.

Pope CLEMENT VII. Priſoner in 1527.

Id. page 23.] THE German and French troops lived at diſcretion in Rome during nine months. The plunder of that city is ſaid to have amounted to 15 millions of crowns.

This ſeemed the period to become really emperor of Rome, and to complete what had been begun under the Charlemagne's and the Otho's; but by a ſingular fatality which has always ariſen from the mutual jealouſy between nations, the new Roman empire has never been other than a phantom.

Conduct of FRANCIS I.

Vol. 4. chap. civ. page 29.

IN the year 1535 he caused a number of poor Lutherans to be burnt at Paris. Father Daniel puts in the margin of his history, *An Example of Piety.* This example of piety consisted in suspending the poor victims on a high gallows, from whence they were lowered several times into the fire, till they were thus gradually consumed. This was an example indeed, but of the most refined barbarity, and that fills us with as much horror against the historians who praise it, as against the judges who ordered it.

It is moreover said, that Francis declared publickly that he would put his own children to death if they were heretics; and yet, in the height of these very proceedings, he wrote to the famous Melancthon, one of the founders of the Lutheran religion, inviting him to his court.

Charles V. gave an example of a very different conduct. Although the Lutherans were his professed enemies, so far was he from delivering torches into the hands of the executioners, or loading Christians with chains, that, on the contrary, he delivered, from their captivity in Tunis, 18,000 Christian slaves, Protestants as well as Catholics.

The

The GENEVANS.

Idem, page 31. THESE people maintained, that a biſhop has no right to ſovereign authority; that the apoſtles were not princes; and that if, during the times of anarchy and barbariſm, biſhops had uſurped the dominion of provinces, the people in more enlightened times had an undoubted right to take them from them again.

Interview betwen CHARLES V. and FRANCIS I. in 1536.

Idem, page 32. THERE were many horrible tranſactions in theſe days, and ſome that were ridiculous.

Francis, the dauphin, ſon to Francis I. died of a pleuriſy. One Montecuculli, an Italian, his cup-bearer, is accuſed of having poiſoned him, and Charles V. is univerſally looked upon as the author of this murder. But what advantage could the emperor have reaped by procuring the death of a prince of only 18 years of age, who had never made any noiſe in the world, and who moreover had a brother? However, Montecuculli was drawn in pieces by horſes. This is the horrible part of the affair; now for the ridiculous:

Francis I. who, by the treaty of Madrid, was no longer lord of Artois and Flanders, and who was ſet at liberty only on condition of relinquiſhing that title, cauſes the emperor to be ſum-

ſummoned to appear before the parliament of Paris, in quality of count of Flanders and Artois, his vaſſal. The attorney-general, Cappel, takes out a decree againſt Charles for non-appearance, and the parliament declares him a rebel.

Of BARBAROSSA in 1543.

Id. page 36. HE exerciſed abſolute authority in Toulon. He cauſed a great houſe to be converted into a Turkiſh moſque; thus the ſame king, who had ſuffered ſo many chriſtians of the Lutheran faith to periſh in his kingdom by the moſt cruel torments, permitted the Mahometans the free exerciſe of their religion within his dominions. This is the piety ſo praiſed by father Daniel; and thus it is that hiſtorians diſgrace their characters. An hiſtorian, who was at the ſame time a good member of ſociety, would have acknowledged, that maxims of ſtate had made it neceſſary to burn the Lutherans, and ſhew countenance to the Mahometans.

Death of FRANCIS I.

Idem, page 39. UNDER this prince France began to emerge from barbariſm, and its language became more refined. There are ſtill extant ſome of the productions of thoſe times, which, if they have not all the regularity requiſite, have at leaſt the merit of a ſprightly ſimplicity; ſuch are the epigrams

grams of the biſhop St. Gelais, Clement Marrot, and Francis I. himſelf. The following lines were written by him under a picture of the famous Agnes Sorel:

Gentille Agnès plus d'honneur en mérite,
La cauſe étant de France recouvrer,
Que ce que peut dedans un cloitre ouvrer
Cloſe nonnain ou bien dèvot hermite.

He likewiſe compoſed memoirs on military diſcipline, at the time he was endeavouring to eſtabliſh in France the Roman legions; but he was obliged to fetch painters, ſculptors, and architects, from Italy.

He propoſed building the palace of the Louvre, but he had ſcarce time to lay the firſt ſtone. His magnificent deſign of a royal college could not be executed, but however his bounty eſtabliſhed ſchools for teaching the Greek and Hebrew languages, and geometry, which the univerſities were not able to teach. There was not a ſingle perſon in France, before his time, who could ſo much as read the Greek character.

In the ſchools, in the courts of juſtice, in the public acts, and in private contracts, they made uſe of no other than a bad Latin, called the Latin of the middle age, which was a remnant of the ancient barbarous dialect of the Franks, Lombards, Germans, Goths and Engliſh, who neither knew how to form a regular language, nor to ſpeak good Latin.

Rodolphus of Habſbourg had ordered, in Germany, that all pleadings and decrees ſhould be in the language of the country. The ſame cuſtom was eſtabliſhed in Caſtille, by Alphonſus the Wiſe, and by Edward III. in England. At length,

is I. alſo ordered, that thoſe who
ma ... rtune to be engaged in law-ſuits,
ſho ... ſt have the ſatisfaction of reading
the ... in ... their own mother-tongue. But the
refi ... the French tongue was not owing
to t ... it is to the ſpirit of the king and
his ... we are indebted for this improve-
mer

Abdication of CHARLES V. in 1558.

Vol. IV. chap. cv. page 43.

IT has been ſaid that ... brain was hurt by his retirement in the mo... ery of St. Juſtin; and indeed his paſſing his time in hanging and unhanging pendulums, and in teazing the novices, in playing the farce of his own interment, in wrapping himſelf up in a winding-ſheet, and in chaunting forth his own funeral anthem, was no great proof of a ſound mind. The man who had made Europe and Africa tremble, and who had repulſed the conqueror of Perſia, died mad. His whole family were inſtances of the exceſs of human weakneſs.

His grand-father, Maximilian, wanted to be made pope. His mother Joan went mad, and was confined, and he ſhut himſelf up amongſt a parcel of monks, where he died as mad as his mother.

But here let us not forget that pope Paul IV. would never acknowledge, as emperor, Ferdinand I. in whoſe favour his brother Charles had reſigned the royal dignity. This pontiff pretended that Charles had no power to abdicate without his permiſſion. The archbiſhop, elec-

tor

or of Mentz, chancellor of the empire, iſſued all his acts and decrees in the name of Charles V. to the day of that prince's death. This is the final epoch of the pretenſions which the popes had ſo long ſet up to the diſpoſal of the empire. Had we not already ſeen ſo many examples of theſe pretenſions, we ſhould be apt to imagine that Paul IV. had his brain more injured than even Charles V..

Of LEO X.

Vol. IV. chap cvi. page 49.

IN the hundred articles of complaint ſometime before exhibited by the imperial diet, during the reign of Maximilian I. againſt the abuſes of the church, there is one that charges the biſhops with ſelling to the inferior clergy, for the yearly payment of one crown, the right of keeping a miſtreſs, which ſum was to be paid whether they made uſe of this indulgence or not.

* * *

The birth of learning in part of Germany, in London, and afterwards in Paris, in conſequence of the improvement of the art of printing, laid the foundation for the ruin of the eccleſiaſtical monarchy. Certain natives of Lower Germany, whom the Italians had always held as barbarians, were the firſt who accuſtomed the minds of people to diſſuſe what had once been the object of their veneration. Eraſmus, notwithſtanding he had himſelf been for a conſiderable time a monk, rather for that very reaſon, expoſed theſe gentry in ſo ridiculous a light

in moſt of his writings, that they were never able to get the better of it. The author of *Letters of obſcure Men* diverted all Germany at the expence of the Italians. The latter, till that time, thought the Germans not capable of being even good jokers; but they were now cured of their error, and the German pleaſantry prepared the way for a revolution that proved of the moſt ſerious conſequence to Italy.

Of LUTHER, &c.

Vol. IV. chap. cvii. and cviii. page 54,---65.

YOU may have obſerved that all the diſputes about religion came hitherto from the prieſt, for Pietro Valdo, the merchant of Lyons, who paſſes for the author of the ſect of the Vaudois, was not ſo, but only aſſembled together his brethren, and encouraged them to perſiſt in what they had begun. He himſelf was the follower of the doctrine of Berenger, of Charles biſhop of Turin, and of ſeveral others of the ſame opinion; and it was not till after Luther's time that ſuch crowds of laymen began to take up the buſineſs of teachers, in conſequence of the various tranſlations of the Bible, which, as they differed in their interpretations, gave riſe to as many different opinions as there were different paſſages to explain.

* * *

The Lutherans were for having new verſions of the Bible, in all the modern languages, and that theſe verſions ſhould be purged from all the inaccuracies and errors with which the Vulgate is

is charged. In fact, when the council set about printing the common version, the six persons appointed to superintend the work, discovered no less than 8000 faults in the old version, and several learned men pretended there were many more; so that at length the council declared the Vulgate version to be authentic, without being at the pains of the proposed correction. The present German Bible was translated by Luther from the original Hebrew; but it is said he knew very little of Hebrew, and that his translation is much more faulty than the Vulgate.

* * *

Luther insisted that all monastic vows should be set aside, because not of primitive institution; that priests should be allowed to marry, because some of the apostles had wives married; that the laity should partake of the cup, because Jesus said, *Drink all of ye*; that no worship should be paid to images, because Christ worshipped no image. In a word, he agreed with the church of Rome in no one point but that of the trinity, baptism, the incarnation, and the resurrection; points which, nevertheless, had been formerly subjects of the sharpest disputes, and some of them had been actually controverted in late days, so that there is no one point of devotion concerning which mankind have not been divided at one time or another.

* * *

Id. page 59.] Had both sides confined themselves to invectives and abuse, Luther would have done less hurt to the church of Rome than Erasmus; but some bold doctors having joined Luther, raised their voices, and began to exclaim not only against the dogma's of schools,

but

but alſo againſt the right which the popes, ever ſince the time of Gregory VII. had aſſumed to themſelves, of diſpoſing of kingdoms. They likewiſe inveighed againſt the ſhameful traffick made of every thing belonging to religion, againſt publick and private oppreſſion, and both in their writings, and from their pulpits, drew a moving picture of five hundred years of perſecution. They repreſented Germany bathed in blood, through the quarrels between the diadem and the tiara, the people treated like wild beaſts, and heaven opened or ſhut for money, by wretches guilty of inceſt, murder, and poiſoning. With what face, ſaid they, could Alexander VI. the horror and ſcandal of human kind, dare to call himſelf the vicar of God? or how could Leo X. ſunk in the moſt ſhameful pleaſure, preſume to take that title?

The people were at length awakened by theſe repeated cries, and the German doctors ſtirred up a greater hatred againſt new Rome than ever Varus had done againſt the old in the ſame country.

Of ZUINGLIUS.

Idem, page lxv.

WHEN we ſee a people, of all others in Europe the leaſt reſtleſs and changeable, quit on a ſudden one religion to embrace another, there muſt infallibly have been ſome particular cauſe to make ſo violent an impreſſion on all minds. That which brought about ſo ſudden a revolution in the opinions of the people of Swiſſerland, was as follows.

The

The two orders of Franciſcans and Dominicans had been at open enmity with each other, ever ſince the thirteenth century. The latter had loſt a great part of their credit with the people, on account of their not paying ſo much honour to the Virgin Mary, as their antagoniſts the Cordeliers or Franciſcans, and that they denied her, with St. Thomas ‡ the monk, of having been borne without ſin. The Franciſcans, on the other hand, gained ground daily, by preaching up on all occaſions the doctrine of immaculate conception, maintained by St. Bonaventure. The mutual hatred and animoſity between theſe two orders was ſo great, that, in the year 1503, a Franciſcan being one day preaching at Frankfort, on the ſubject of the bleſſed Virgin, and ſeeing a Dominican enter the church, he cried out in the midſt of his ſermon, that he bleſſed God he was not of that order, which depreciated the mother of God herſelf, and who poiſoned kings and emperors with the conſecrated elements. The Dominican, whoſe name was Vigan, replied with a loud voice, that he was a liar and an heretic. Upon this the Franciſcan quits his pulpit, gathers the people together, and drives his enemy out of the church, after beating him in ſuch a manner with a crucifix, that he is left dead at the door. The next year, 1504, the Dominicans held a chapter of their order at Wimpſen, in which it is reſolved to take vengeance of the Franciſcans, and to deſtroy their credit, and even their doctrine, by bringing the Virgin Mary herſelf into

‡ *St. Thomas d'Aquines.* See note to chap. cxviii. page 131. *Vol. IV.*

the

the field againſt them. Berne was fixed upon to be the theatre of this ſcene. They began by ſpreading reports for three years together, of the mother of God having appeared ſeveral times to different perſons, reproaching the Franciſcans with their doctrine of immaculate conception, which ſhe ſaid was horrible blaſphemy, and tended to rob her ſon of the glory of having cleanſed her from original ſin, and the power of hell. The Franciſcans, on their parts, were not behind hand in oppoſing other apparitions. But at length, in the year 1507, the Dominicans having brought over a young lay-brother, called Yetſer, made him their inſtrument to work upon the minds of the people. It was an eſtabliſhed opinion in the convents of all orders, that if a novice quitted the habit, and did not make his profeſſion, his ſoul remained in purgatory till the laſt judgment, unleſs it was releaſed by prayers, or alms given to the convent.

The prior of the convent, who was a Dominican, entered Yetſer's cell in the night, in a habit painted with devils, a great chain about his middle, leading four dogs, and caſting flames out of his mouth, by means of a little round box filled with the pickings of flax, and ſet on fire. This horrible figure told the half-ſcared Yetſer, that he was a monk, who in former times had quitted his habit, for which his ſoul was thrown into purgatory, but that it might be delivered from thence, if Yetſer would conſent to ſuffer himſelf to be flogged by the monks before the great altar. Yetſer complied without heſitating, and delivered the monk's ſoul from purgatory, who appeared to him a ſecond time, clad in a white robe, and ſurround-

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ed with glory, to ſhew him that he was in heaven, and to recommend to him the cauſe of the bleſſed virgin, whom the Franciſcans reviled.

Some few nights after, St. Barba, for whom brother Yetſer had a great veneration (that is, another monk dreſt up for the purpoſe) and told him that he was a ſaint, and that the holy virgin had choſen him to avenge her cauſe againſt the damnable doctrine of the Cordeliers.

At length the virgin herſelf deſcended into his cell through the cieling, attended by two angels, and commanded him to declare to the world that ſhe was born in original ſin, and that the Cordeliers were the greateſt enemies of her ſon; and then ſhe concluded with telling him, that ſhe would honour him with the five wounds with which St. Lucia and St. Catherine had been honoured.

The next night, the monk having made the lay-brother drink heartily of wine, in which they had infuſed a quantity of opium, they pierced his hands, his feet, and his ſide, while he was aſleep. When he awoke, he found himſelf all over blood. The monks cried aloud that the holy virgin had imprinted the ſtigma on him, and in this condition they expoſed him at the altar to the view of the people.

However, weak as brother Yetſer was, he imagined he had diſtinguiſhed the voice of the ſub-prior in that of the bleſſed virgin, and began to think the whole an impoſture; upon which, the monks, without further ceremony, reſolved to poiſon him; and accordingly, when he came next to take the ſacrament, they gave him a conſecrated wafer, which they had previouſly ſprinkled thick with the powder of corroſive ſublimate.

ſublimate; the ſharpneſs of which upon his tongue obliged him to ſpit out the wafer, and thereupon the monks inſtantly cried out ſacrilege, and loaded him with chains. To ſave his life, he promiſed upon another hoſt, that he would never reveal the ſecret: however, having found means, ſometime afterwards, to make his eſcape out of the convent, he went and made a diſcovery of the whole affair to a magiſtrate. The cauſe was two years depending; at the end of which time, four Dominicans were burnt before the gate of Rome, the laſt day of May 1509, O. S. in conſequence of the ſentence pronounced upon him by a biſhop ſent from Rome for that purpoſe.

This adventure brought the monks into that abhorrence which they juſtly deſerved; and thoſe who began the reformation, did not fail to revive the ſtory with all the aggravations they could deviſe, never once reflecting, that the author of this ſacrilegious act had been puniſhed by the ſee of Rome itſelf, in the moſt exemplary manner. In ſhort, every thing was forgot but the action: the people who had been witneſſes to this ſhocking affair were ready to believe every title of the charge of profanation and ſacrilege brought againſt the monks, eſpecially thoſe of the mendicant order, and in which the whole church was included. If thoſe who ſtill adhered to the worſhip of the church of Rome objected, that the holy ſee was not anſwerable for the crimes of the monks, they were told of the vile actions of ſeveral popes, who had been a diſgrace to their ſacred character and function. Nothing is more eaſy than to render

ender a whole body odious by a detail of the rimes of ſome of its members.

* * *

Id. page 67.] The opinion that it is ſufficient to e virtuous to merit eternal happineſs has been dopted by a great number of the learned men f our modern times; they have thought it abo-ninable to look upon the father of all nature as mercileſs tyrant to the greateſt part of hu-nan kind, and a loving father only to a particu-ar ſet of men in a few ſmall countries. Theſe earned men have doubtleſs been miſtaken; but ow humane is their error!

The Progreſs of LUTHERANISM.

Vol. IV. chap. ix. page 67-69. A Power that had the right of always governing men in the name of God, would ſoon make an ill uſe of hat power. Mankind have often found themſelves n religion as well as in government between a tate of anarchy and tyranny, ready to fall into ne or other of the gulphs.

* * *

Id. page 70.] The law by which a man is al-owed only one wife, is ſometimes attended with atal conſequences, and may require certain ex-eptions as well as many other laws. There re ſome caſes in which the intereſt of families nd even of the ſtate ſeems to require a perſon to ake a ſecond wife during the life-time of the irſt, where an heir is abſolutely neceſſary and annot be had by the firſt. The law of nature hen acts in concert with the public good; and as

It muſt be acknowledged, that the manifeſto publiſhed by theſe ſavages in the name of *the men who till the earth*, might have been ſigned by Lycurgus. They demanded to be exempted from the payment of all tythes but that of corn; and that a part thereof might be applied to the ſupport of the poor; that they might be permitted to hunt and fiſh for their neceſſary ſubſiſtence; that air and water might be free; that their day-labour * might be moderated; and that they might be allowed a little wood to warm themſelves. They only claimed the rights common to mankind; but they ſupported their claim like ſavage beaſts.

The cruelties which had been exerciſed by the common people in France and England in the reigns of Charles VI. and Henry V. were now renewed in Germany, and blown into a fiercer flame, by the breath of fanaticiſm. Muncer makes himſelf maſter of the town of Mulhauſen in Thuringia, and while he every where preaches up a general equality of rank and poſſeſſions, obliges the inhabitants to bring all their money and effects, and lay them at his feet. The peaſants all take up arms from Saxony to Alſace. They murder all the gentlemen that come in their way, and put to death a daughter of the emperor Maximilian I. One very remarkable circumſtance is, that like the ſlaves of old, who revolted from the Romans, and who, when they found themſelves incapable of governing, choſe for their king one of their maſters, who had eſcaped the general

* The French word is *corvée*, which ſignifies a day's work due from a vaſſal or tenant, to his landlord.

slaughter, so these peasants put a gentleman at their head.

Of ANABAPTISM.

Vol. IV. chap. cxi. page 769. SUCH of the conspirators who could be found were put to death, without mercy; and at that time all the Anabaptists throughout the United Provinces were treated as the Dutch had been by the Spaniards; they were drowned, strangled, or burnt; and, whether concerned in the conspiracy or not, whether factious or peaceable, they were fallen upon by the people of the Low Countries, as monsters, of whom it was necessary to rid the earth.

* * *

Id. p. 77.] The change in the manners of the Anabaptists is owing to their having joined the party of the Unitarians, a sect that hold only one God; but profess great reverence for Jesus Christ. They have neither dogmas nor controversies, and though held as reprobate by other communions, live in peace with them all.

Of the religion in France during the reign of FRANCIS I.

Vol. IV. chap. cxvii. page 111. THEIR chief object was that of a concordat like the Germanic concordat. The Germans, ever jealous of their privileges, had stipulated with pope Nicholas V. that the election among the clergy should remain in full force through the whole German empire;

ſire; that they ſhould pay no annates to Rome; that the pope ſhould have only the right of nominating to certain canonſhips during ſix months in the year; and that thoſe who were in poſſeſſion ſhould pay to the pope a certain ſum then agreed upon. The rich German canonſhips were ſtill looked upon as a great abuſe by the civilians, and this fee paid to the ſee of Rome as no better than ſimony. It was according to them a burthenſome and ſcandalous bargain to pay a ſum to an Italian prince for the privilege of enjoying a benefice in Germany or France. This kind of traffic ſeemed to ſtamp an infamy upon religion; and the political calculators proved it to be an error of the moſt capital kind for the ſubjects of France to ſend to Rome a yearly ſum of 400,000 livres, at a time when their own trade did not bring them in ſo much as they loſt by this pernicious contract. If the pope exacted this money in the light of a tribute, it was not to be ſuffered; if only as a charitable donation, it was too much: but, in ſhort, every thing was done for money. Relics, indulgencies, diſpenſations, benefices, all were ſold to the beſt bidder.

If religion was to be thus put up at auction it was better, no doubt, to turn this ſimony to the benefit of the ſtate, than to the profit of a biſhop, who was a ſtranger, and who, by the law of nature and nations, had no more right to receive the firſt year's profit of a benefice in France than of the revenue of China or the Indies.

This agreement, which at that time occaſioned ſo many heart-burnings, was made juſt before the great rupture which happened between the whole North, all England, and part of Germany, and the ſee of Rome, which latter, in a ſhort

time, became more and more hated in France; and religion itſelf was in danger of ſuffering from the diſlike which the church of Rome had brought upon herſelf.

This was for a long time the cry of all the magiſtrates, colleges, and univerſities; and theſe complaints were ſtill further aggravated by the appearance of a bull iſſued by the voluptuous Leo X. in which the Pragmatic Sanction is called, *the depravity of the kingdom of France.*

An inſult of this kind offered to a whole nation by a bull, in which St. Paul is quoted at the ſame time that money is demanded, ſtill excites the indignation of the public.

Of Religious Orders.

Vol. IV. chap. cxviii. page 129.] THERE reigned a moſt ſcandalous enmity between the old order of the Black Friars, and the new one of the White *. This jealouſy reſembled that between the green and blue factions in the Roman empire; but it did not cauſe the ſame ſeditions.

* * *

Id. page 130.] The Franciſcans or Cordeliers were the moſt numerous and the moſt buſy of any of the other orders. Francis d'Aſſiſi, who firſt founded this order in the year 1210, was at the ſame time the moſt ſimple and the moſt enthuſiaſtic man in the world; fanaticiſm was the ſpirit of the times, and in ſome meaſure that of the lower claſs of the cruſaders of the Vaudois and

* The Franciſcans and Dominicans.

of

f the Albigenſes. Francis therefore found a umber of people of the ſame diſpoſition as him- elf; and of theſe he formed a ſect. We have lready ſeen examples of his great zeal, and that f his companions in the holy wars, where he ropoſed to the ſultan of Egypt to turn Chriſtian, nd friar Giles perſiſted ſo obſtinately in preach- ng his faith to the people of Morocco.

Never were the extravagances of the human nind carried to ſo great a length as in the book of *the Conformity of St. Francis with Chriſt*, which was written during his life time, and which was afterwards reprinted with conſiderable additions in the beginning by a Franciſcan friar called Bartholomew Albici; in which book Chriſt is made to have been only the forerunner of Francis. In this book likewiſe we find the ſtory of the woman of ſnow, that St. Francis formed with his own hands; of his miraculous cure of the mad wolf, whom he made to promiſe that he would never devour any more ſheep; and that of a friar of their order, who being made a biſhop, was afterwards depoſed by the pope, and who having died during his depoſition, returned again to life, and carried a letter of rebuke to the ſame pope.

* * *

The Minims did neither hurt nor good. This order was founded by a man of a weak judgment; one Franciſco Martorillo, the ſame whom Lewis XI deſired to prolong his life. This Martorillo having made a rule in Calabria, that his monks ſhould eat every thing with oil, becauſe oil is to be had in that country for little or nothing, made the ſame rule for the monks, whom he eſtabliſhed in the northern countries of France, where no olives grow, and where of conſequence oil is

with an expreſs clauſe that their numb
never exceed ſixty, notwithſtanding which
before his death ſaw above a thouſand ir
der. At length he ſuffered his enthuſia
to be a little governed by diſcretion. His
ſpiritual exerciſes, which was to ſerve
rectory to his diſciples, was indeed a
romantic. He there repreſents God
general of an army, and the Jeſuits as
tains. But a perſon may write ve
and yet govern well. He was aſſiſted
Laines and Salmeron, who having acqui
ſkill in theſe matters, aſſiſted him in c
the rules of his order. Francis de Borg
of Gandia, grandſon to pope Alexan
and nephew of Cæſar Borgia, one
and fanatic as his grandfather and un
wicked and deceitful, entered into the
the Jeſuits, and was the firſt who procu
riches and credit. Francis Xavier by hi
to the Indies and Japan rendered it famo

be ſubject to the authority of the biſhops. The name of Jeſuit was thought too pompous. They were reproached with endeavouring to arrogate to themſelves alone, a title common to all Chriſtians, and the vows they took to the pope gave cauſe of jealouſy.

* * *

We ought not certainly to attribute to their inſtitution, or to the effect of a determined and general plan, always kept in view, the crimes which, through the fatality of the times, ſome of this order have been led to commit. It certainly was not the fault of Ignatius, that Matthew Guignard, Gueret, and ſeveral other of the Jeſuits, both wrote and caballed againſt Henry IV. with ſo much fury, or that thoſe of their order have ſince been driven out of Portugal for rebellion and regicide, any more than it was the fault of the founder of the Dominican order, that one of that body poiſoned the emperor Henry VII. in giving him the ſacrament, and that another aſſaſſinated Henry III. of France. Nor is St. Benedict to be charged with the death of the duke of Guienne, brother to Lewis XI. who was poiſoned by a Benedictine monk. No religious order whatever was originally founded with criminal nor even political views.

Of NUNS.

See, page 139. POPE St. Leo, whoſe memory is ſtill held in the greateſt eſteem, ordered in the year 458, conjunctly with other biſhops, that no ſingle woman ſhould be permitted to take the veil before ſhe was forty years of age, and the emperor Majorianus made this

wiſe law of the church, a law of ſtate. An imprudent zeal, however, deſtroyed in time what wiſdom and prudence had eſtabliſhed.

Of the INQUISITION.

Vol. IV. chap. cxix. page 144-148. THE inquiſition is milder in Rome and Italy, where the Jews enjoy great privileges, and where the inhabitants are more ſolicitous to make their own fortunes, and thoſe of their relations, than to diſpute about myſteries. Pope Paul IV. who granted too extenſive a power to the tribunal of the inquiſition at Rome, was deteſted for it by the people. They diſturbed his funeral obſequies; threw his ſtatue into the Tyber; demoliſhed the priſons of the inquiſition; and ſtoned the officers of that tribunal. Nevertheleſs, the Romiſh inquiſition had not put any one to death, during the pontificate of Paul IV. His ſucceſſor Pius IV. was more cruel; he cauſed three unhappy ſcholars to be burnt for not thinking like other people; but the Italian inquiſition, in the utmoſt ſtretch of its power, never equaled the cruelties of that in Spain. The greateſt injury it ever did to Italy was the keeping as much as poſſible an inquiſitive and ſpirited people in ignorance. Thoſe who will write are obliged to aſk permiſſion of a Jacobine to think, and of others to read. Men of learning, of which there are a great number in Italy, complain in ſecret; the reſt live in a round of pleaſure and ignorance; and the lower people are ſunk in ſuperſtition. The greater ſpirit the Italians have ſhewn, the greater efforts have been made

nade to curb it; and this ſpirit has only ſerved to ring them under the laſh of the monks, whoſe lands they are obliged to kiſs in ſeveral provinces, s in former times, it ſerved only to ſubject hem more to the Goths, the Lombards, the Franks, and the Teutonians.

Of the Diſcoveries of the PORTUGUESE.

Vol. IV. chap. cxx. PRINCE Henry of Portugal took for his device, *Talent de bien faire.*

* * *

Id. page 158.] The Negro race is a ſpecies of men as different from ours, as the breed of ſpaniels is from that of greyhounds. The mucous membrane, or net-work, which nature has ſpread between the muſcles and the ſkin, is white in us, and black or copper-coloured in them. The famous Ruiſch was the firſt in our time, who, in diſſecting a Negro at Amſterdam, was ſo happily ſkilful as to raiſe the whole of this mucoreticular membrane. Czar Peter purchaſed it of him; but Ruiſch kept a ſmall piece for himſelf, which I have ſeen, and is like a piece of black gauze. If a Negro by accident burns himſelf, ſo that this membrane is hurt, his ſkin turns brown in the place, otherwiſe it comes black again as before. Their eyes are not formed like ours. The black wool on their heads and other parts, has no reſemblance to our hair; and it may be ſaid, that if their underſtanding is not of a different nature from ours, it is at leaſt greatly inferior. They are not capable of any great appli-

Vol. IV. chap. cxix. page 144-148.

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ſome right or opinion, what advantages would not have been made of this propheſy? how clear it would have appeared! and with how much zeal would thoſe have been perſecuted who had preſumed to explain it rationally!

* * *

Id. p. 160.] The Portugueſe did not at this time form any ſettlements on the Cape of Good-Hope, which the Dutch have ſince made one of the moſt delicious habitations on the earth, and where they cultivate, with ſucceſs, the productions of the four quarters of the world. The natives of this country reſemble neither the Whites nor the Negroes; they are all of a deep olive-colour, having long ſhaggy hair, and are born, both men and women, with a piece of ſkin, which hangs down from their navels, and covers the private parts in the form of an apron, which they can take up or let down at pleaſure. Their organs of ſpeech are different from ours; for they utter a kind of rattling or ſluttering ſound, which it is impoſſible for any but themſelves to underſtand or imitate. Theſe people were not canibals; on the contrary, their manners were mild and innocent. It is certain they did not carry their portion of reaſon ſo far as to have knowledge of a Supreme Being; but were in that degree of ſtupidity which admits of imperfect ſociety, founded on their common wants. Peter Kolb, the maſter of arts, who lived ſo long among them, is certain that thoſe people are deſcendants from Keturah, one of Abraham's wives, and that they worſhip a little black beetle. We know very little about their religion, their pedigree I queſtion much wh Kolb's informations were very authe

cation or aſſociation of ideas, and ſeem formed neither for the advantages nor abuſes of our philoſophy. They are a race peculiar to that part of Africa, the ſame as elephants and monkeys. The Negroes of the empire of Morocco are a warlike, hardy, and cruel people, and often ſuperior in the field to the ſun-burnt tawny troops, whom they call white. They think themſelves born in Guinea, to be ſold to the whites, and to ſerve them.

There are ſeveral kinds of Negroes. Thoſe of Guinea, Ethiopia, Madagaſcar, and the Indies, are all different. The blacks of Guinea and Congo have wool; the others long, ſhaggy hair. The petty nations of blacks, who have but little commerce with other nations, are ſtrangers to all kind of religious worſhip. The firſt degree of ſtupidity is to think only of the preſent, and of bodily wants. This was the ſtate of ſeveral nations, and eſpecially thoſe which inhabited iſlands. The ſecond degree is to foreſee by halves, without being able to form any fixed ſociety; to behold the ſtars with wonder and amazement; to celebrate certain feaſts, to make a general rejoicing on the return of certain ſeaſons, or the appearance of a particular ſtar, without going further, or having any diſtinct poſitive idea. In this middle ſtate between imbecility and infant reaſon, nations many have continued for ſeveral ages.

* * *

Id. page 158.] By an odd chance we find the ſouthern pole, and the four ſtars, which are neareſt to it, ſpoken of by the famous Dante †. Had there been a neceſſity for a prediction to eſtabliſh

† Above one hundred years before this diſcovery, in the firſt canto of his Purgatory.

ſome

ſome right or opinion, what advantages would not have been made of this propheſy? how clear it would have appeared! and with how much zeal would thoſe have been perſecuted who had preſumed to explain it rationally!

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The

The firſt philoſophers who travelled into Egypt and Colchos were ſtruck with ſurpriſe at the ceremony of circumciſion; but the Hottentots have an operation which is much more ſurpriſing. It has always been a cuſtom with them to deprive all their males of one teſticle, without knowing how, or on what account this cuſtom was firſt introduced amongſt them. Some of them have told the Dutch that this operation made them more light and active for the chace, and others that the aromatic herbs with which they fill the cavity in the ſcrotum, from whence the teſticle is taken, makes them more vigorous and robuſt. It is certain they can have no other than a bad reaſon to give for ſuch a practice, and the ſame may be ſaid of many cuſtoms in other parts of the world.

Of JAPAN.

Vol. IV. chap. cxxi. page 163, &c.

THE famous Francis Xavier, a Portugueſe jeſuit, a man of a bold and indefatigable zeal, was the firſt who ſowed the ſeeds of the goſpel in theſe parts. He accompanied the merchants, who traded to ſeveral of the Japan iſlands, ſometimes in the character of a pilgrim, and ſometimes with all the pomp and apparatus of an apoſtolic vicar, and deputy of the pope. It is certain, that being obliged to make uſe of an interpreter, he made but an inconſiderable progreſs in the beginning of his miſſion; he himſelf ſays in his letters, "I do "not underſtand theſe people nor they me; we "ſpell like children learning to read." After ſuch a confeſſion, the writers of his life had, one would

would imagine, no great reaſon to attribute to him the gift of tongues; nor ſhould they have held the underſtandings of their readers in ſo contemptible a light as to aſſert that, having loſt his crucifix, it was brought him again by a crab; that he was preſent in two places at one and the ſame time; and that he raiſed nine dead perſons to life. They might have contented themſelves with praiſing his zeal and power of reſiſting temptations. After ſome time Xavier, learnt enough of the Japaneſe language to make himſelf tolerably well underſtood. The princes of ſeveral of the iſlands of that empire, who were moſt of them diſſatisfied with their bonzes, were not ſorry to ſee foreign preachers come amongſt them to oppoſe thoſe who had abuſed their functions; and the Chriſtian religion was by degrees eſtabliſhed.

Of INDIA.

Idem, page 175. IN the middlemoſt parts of Africa, there is a race, though very few in number, of little men, who are as white as ſnow, with faces like thoſe of the negroes, and round eyes exactly reſembling thoſe of partridges. The Portugueſe call them *Albinos*; they are ſmall, weak, and look aſkew. The wool that covers their heads, and of which their eye-brows are formed, is like very fine white cotton. They are inferior to the negroes or blacks in bodily ſtrength and underſtanding; and are perhaps intended by nature as the next ſpecies after the Negroes and the Hottentots, ſomewhat above monkeys, and as one of the degrees deſcending from human kind to the brute creation. Perhaps

haps alſo there may have been a middle ſpecies, inferior to theſe, who have been deſtroyed by time, and their own weakneſs. Two of theſe creatures have been ſeen in France; and I myſelf have ſeen one in the hotel de Bretagne at Paris, which a negro merchant had brought over with him. There are ſome of theſe animals in the eaſtern parts of Aſia, which greatly reſemble the human ſpecies, but they are very rare, and require that tenderneſs and care from the reſt of the human race in order to their preſervation, which we ſeldom ſhew to things that are not of ſome uſe to us.

* * *

The firſt thing which Pelſart ſaw in 1630, in thoſe parts of the Terra Auſtralis, which are divided from our hemiſphere, and which is now called New Holland, was a troop of negroes, who came walking towards him on their hands, in the ſame manner as upon feet. It is probable that when we ſhall have penetrated farther into this new ſouthern world, we ſhall become better acquainted with the infinite variety in nature; and that every thing will conduce to enlarge our ideas, and diminiſh our prejudices.

* * *

Idem, page 178, 179.] We muſt be as ignorant and as inconſiderate as the monks of the middle age to indulge ourſelves in the vain notion, that all beyond our little ſpot Europe, that our antient maſters and legiſlators the Romans, that the Grecks their maſters, and the antient Egyptian prieſts the maſter of the Grecks, in a word, that all nations but ourſelves have been always a ſet of deteſtable and abſurd idolaters.

Of ETHIOPIA or ABYSSINIA.

THE Abyſſinians, who are a mixture of half Jews, half Chriſtians, acknowlege for their patriarch an archbiſhop, who reſides in the ruins of Alexandria, or Gran Cairo in Egypt. This patriarch is not of their religion, but of the antient Greek communion, which communion differs again from the Greek religion. The Turkiſh government, however, ſuffer this little flock to remain unmoleſted, and do not concern themſelves whether theſe Chriſtians plunge their newborn infants into a great tub of water, or carry their god to the houſes of their lying-in-women, under the form of a piece of bread ſteeped in wine. Theſe people would not be ſuffered in Rome, and yet we find them tolerated by Mahometans.

IDLE DISPUTES.

How AMERICA came to be peopled. Specific differences between AMERICA and the NEW WORLD. Men-eaters. Religions. Reaſons why the NEW WORLD is leſs populous than the OLD.

IF it was an effect of philoſophy that diſcovered America, it certainly is not one to be every day aſking how it happened that men were found upon this continent, and how they had been tranſported thither? If we are not ſurpriſed to find that there are flies in America, it is very ſtupid to expreſs our wonder that there ſhould be men there alſo.

The

The ſavage who thinks himſelf a production of the climate in which he lives, the ſame as his *Orignal* and *Manioc* root, is not more ignorant than ourſelves in this point, and reaſons better. In fact, as the negro of Africa has not his original from us whites, why ſhould the red, olive, or aſh-coloured people of America, come from our countries? and beſides, which was the primitive or mother-country of all the others?

Were the flowers, fruits, trees, and animals, with which Nature covers the face of the earth, planted by her at firſt only in one ſpot, in order that they might from thence be ſpread over the reſt of the world? Where muſt that ſpot have been which firſt produced all the graſs, and all the oats, and diſperſed them afterwards thro' all other parts of the globe? How were the moſs and the firs of Norway conveyed to the countries of the ſouthern pole? You cannot ſuppoſe any one country which is not almoſt wholly deſtitute of ſome of the productions of another. We muſt ſuppoſe then, that originally it had every thing, and that now it has nothing. Every climate has its different productions, and the moſt fruitful is extremely poor, in compariſon with all the others put together. The great maſter of nature has peopled with variety the whole globe. The firs of Norway certainly are not the parents of the clove trees of the Molucca Iſlands; as little are they indebted for their origin to the firs of any other country. We may as well ſuppoſe the graſs growing in Archangel to be produced by that on the banks of the Ganges. It would never come into our heads to ſuppoſe that the caterpillers and ſnails of one

part

part of the world were produced in another part; why then ſhould we be ſurpriſed that America produces ſome ſpecies of animals, and ſome race of men reſembling ours?

Not only America, but Africa and Aſia alſo, produce and contain vegetables and animals reſembling thoſe in Europe; and each of thoſe continents do likewiſe produce many kinds that have not the leaſt reſemblance with thoſe of the old world.

The lands in Mexico, Peru, and Canada, never bear wheat, which is a part of our food, nor grapes, which make our common drink; nor olives, which is ſo uſeful a fruit to us; nor indeed the greateſt part of our other fruits. All our beaſts of burthen, ſuch as horſes, camels, aſſes, oxen, were creatures wholly unknown in that part of the world; they had indeed a kind of oxen and ſheep, but altogether different from ours. The ſheep of Peru were larger and ſtronger than thoſe of Europe, and were made uſe of to carry loads: their oxen were a breed ſomewhat between our camel and buffalo. There is a ſpecies of hogs, in Mexico, which have their navels at their backs, inſtead of their bellies, as in all other quadrupeds. There are neither dogs nor cats in this country; there are lions here, indeed, and in Peru, but very ſmall, and almoſt without hair, and what is moſt extraordinary, the lion of theſe climates is a cowardly creature.

You may, if you pleaſe, reduce all mankind to one ſingle ſpecies, becauſe they have the ſame organs of life, ſenſe, and motion; but this ſpecies is evidently divided into ſeveral others, whether we conſider it in a phyſical or moral light.

As to the firſt of theſe, the Eſquimaux, a race of people inhabiting the 60th degree of North latitude, are ſaid to reſemble the Laplanders in figure and ſtature. The neighbouring people have faces covered with hair. The Iroquois, the Hurons, and all the people of that tract, as far as Florida, are olive-coloured, and without the leaſt appearance of hair on any part of the body, except their heads. Captain Rogers, who ſailed along the coaſt of California, diſcovered a ſpecies of negroes, unknown in America. On the Iſthmus of Panama there is a race of people called Dariens, who greatly reſemble the Albinos of Africa. They are at moſt four feet high; they are white, and are the only native people of all America, who are of a white colour: they have red eyes bordered with eye-laſhes in the form of a ſemi-circle. They never ſtir out of their holes but in the night-time, not being able to ſee in day-light, and are to the reſt of mankind what owls are to the feathered race. The natives of Mexico and Peru are of a copper-colour, thoſe of Braſil of a deeper red, and the people of Chili are more aſh-coloured; the ſize of the Patagonians, or inhabitants of the Streights of Magellan, has been greatly exaggerated; the truth ſeems to be that they are by far the talleſt people of any in the known world.

Amongſt all theſe nations, ſo greatly differing from us, and from each other, there has never yet been found a race of men living without ſociety, wandering as chance might direct, like the *brutes*, or like them coupling promiſcuouſly, or *quitting* their females to go in queſt of food by *themſelves*: ſuch a ſtate ſeems not compatible with human

human nature, which, by the inſtinct of ſpecies, affects ſociety as it does liberty. Hence we find, that the ſhutting up of a priſoner in a priſon, where he is debarred any commerce with the reſt of mankind, is one of the many puniſhments invented by tyrants, for the torture of their follow-creatures; and is a puniſhment which would appear leſs ſupportable to a ſavage than to a civilized man.

From the Streights of Magellan to Hudſon's Bay, there are a number of families gathered under one chief, and living in huts which compoſe villages; but we have no inſtance in thoſe parts of any wandering people abandoning their habitations, according to the ſeaſons, like the Arabians, Badouins, and Tartars. The reaſon ſeems to be, that theſe people, not having any beaſts of burthen, could not ſo eaſily tranſport their cabins. We every where meet with certain fixed idioms, by which the moſt ſavage nations are enabled to expreſs the few ideas they are maſters of; this is another inſtinct peculiar to mankind, to denote their wants by certain articulate ſounds. Names muſt neceſſarily have ariſen from the number of different languages, more or leſs copious, according to the greater or leſſer degree of underſtanding in thoſe who made uſe of them. Nay, the language of the Mexicans was more regular than that of the Iroquois, as ours is more copious and abſolute than that of the Samoidians.

Of all the people of America, one nation only had a religion, which ſeems, at firſt ſight, not to be repugnant to reaſon; theſe are the Peruvians, who, like the ancient Perſians and Sabeans adored the ſun as a planet that diſ-

penſed

penſed its benefits to all the creation: but, excepting the large and well peopled nations in America, all the others were plunged in a ſtate of the moſt barbarous ſtupidity. Their religious aſſemblies had no mark of a regular worſhip, and their belief was without form. It is certain, that the Braſilians, the inhabitants of the Caribbee and Molucca Iſlands; and the people of Guiana, and the northern countries, had no clearer notion of a Supreme Being than the Caffres of Africa. A knowledge of this kind requires a reaſon that has been cultivated, which their reaſons were not. Nature alone may inſpire with a confuſed idea of ſomething ſupremely powerful and terrible, the ſavage, who ſees a thunderbolt fall, or beholds a mighty river break its bounds: but this is only a faint beginning of the knowledge of a God, creator of the univerſe; a knowledge which was abſolutely wanting to all the inhabitants of the vaſt continent of America.

The other Americans, who had formed to themſelves a religion, had made an abominable one. The Mexicans were not the only people who ſacrificed human victims to a certain evil deity of their own invention. It has been ſaid, that the Peruvians were wont to diſgrace their worſhip of the ſun by the like bloody offerings. And there ſeems to be ſome kind of conformity between the ancient people of our hemiſphere, and the more civilized of the other, in regard to this barbarous religion.

We are aſſured by Herrera, that the Mexicans feaſted on the fleſh of the human victims that they offered in ſacrifice. The greateſt part of the firſt travellers and miſſionaries, all agree, that

the people of the Braſils and the Caribbee
ıds, as alſo the Iroquois and Hurons, and
e other of thoſe nations, eat the priſoners
ɔm they took in their wars; and that they
not look upon this as a cuſtom peculiar to
nſelves; but as the general practice of all
ions. So many authors, both ancient and
lern, have made mention of cannibals, or
n-Eaters, that it is difficult to deny that
:e are ſuch. In the year 1725, I myſelf ſaw
r ſavages at Fontainbleau, who had been
ught from the Miſſiſſippi; among them was a
man of an aſh-coloured complexion, like that
her companions. I aſked her by the inter-
ter, who was with them, whether ſhe had
ıny time eaten human fleſh; to which ſhe
wered, yes, in the ſame indifferent manner
if it had been a common queſtion. This
barity, which ſo much ſhocks our nature, is,
wever, far leſs cruel than murder; real bar-
ity conſiſts in taking away the life of any
:, and not in diſputing the dead carcaſe with
: crows or the worms. A people who lived
ogether by hunting, as did the Braſilians
d Canadians, and the inhabitants of the Ca-
bee iſlands, might ſometimes, on failure of
:ir uſual food, be driven to this ſhocking re-
urſe to ſupply the calls of nature. Hunger and
ngeance might have accuſtomed them to this
ɔd; and when we ſee in the moſt civilized ages
e people of Paris devouring the mangled re-
ıins of the marechal d'Ancre, and thoſe of
e Hague eating the heart of the grand pen-
ıary de Witt, we need not wonder that a
ed of horror that was only temporary with
, has become a laſting cuſtom among ſavages.

The

mies the ſame people, in the name of
if they fight valiantly againſt the king
the Lord will give them to eat of th
the horſe and of the horſeman. Mar
or Mark Paul, ſays, that in his tim
part of Tartary, the magicians or prie
were the ſame, had the privilege of
fleſh of criminals condemned to deat
ſtrikes one with horror; but the p
human kind will be found too frequen
duce this effect.

How has it happened that people,
always ſeparated from each other by th
tries, have yet been united in this hor
tom? Can we ſuppoſe it to be not
repugnant to human nature? It is ce
this practice is very rare; but it is a
that it does really exiſt.

There is another vice altogether
from this, and ſeemingly more contra
end of nature, in which, neverth

unknown to the Canadians. But how happens it that a paſſion which overturns all the laws of propagation of the human ſpecies, ſhould, in both parts of the world, have taken poſſeſſion of the very organs of propagation themſelves?

Another obſervation, no leſs important, is, that the middlemoſt parts of Africa have been found to be tolerably well peopled, and the two extremities towards the poles very thinly inhabited; in general, the new world does not appear to contain the number of people it ſhould do. There muſt certainly be ſome natural cauſes for this.

In the firſt place, then, the cold is as exceſſive and piercing in America, in the ſame degree of latitude with Paris and Vienna, as in our continent at the polar circle.

In the ſecond place, the rivers in America are for the moſt part ten times as large as ours, and as theſe frequently overflow, they muſt have occaſioned a great dearth, and of conſequence, mortality, in thoſe immenſe tracts. The mountains, by being much higher, are not ſo habitable as ours. The violent and laſting poiſons with which the whole ſoil of America is covered, renders the ſlighteſt wound of an arrow dipt in their juice inſtantaneouſly mortal. And, laſtly, the ſtupidity of the human ſpecies in a part of this hemiſphere, may have greatly contributed to depopulate the country. It is a general remark that the human underſtanding is not near ſo perfect in the new as in the old world. Man is in both a very feeble animal, and, when in a ſtate of infancy, very liable to periſh for want of due care; and it cannot be ſuppoſed, that when the inhabitants on

the banks of the Rhone, the Elbe, and the Viſtula, were wont to plunge their new-born infants into thoſe rivers, that the German and Sarmatian mothers reared as many children as they do now; eſpecially when thoſe countries were covered with vaſt woods, which made the climate more inclement and unwholſome than it has been of late times. Numberleſs colonies of Americans were in want of proper food. They could not furniſh their infants with good milk; nor could they provide for them afterwards, either wholſome food, or a ſufficiency of it. We find ſeveral of the carniverous kind of animals greatly reduced in number, for want of ſubſiſtence; and it is a matter of ſurprize, that we meet with more men in America than monkeys.

Of FERNANDO CORTEZ.

Vol. IV. chap. cxxiv. IT is ſaid, that, as a Spaniſh captain was marching thro' the lands of a cacique, the latter preſented him with a number of ſlaves and ſome game, ſaying, if thou art a god there are men, eat them, if thou art a mortal here is the fleſh of animals, which theſe ſlaves will dreſs for thee.

Of the CONQUEST of PERU.

Vol. IV. chap. cxxv. THE firſt of the incas, or emperors of Peru, who conquered that country, and gave the inhabitants laws, paſſed for a ſon of the ſun. Thus we find the moſt civilized nations both

of

of the old and new world, reſembled each other in the cuſtom of deifying great and extraordinary men, whether conquerors or legiſlators.

Garcilaſſo de la Vega, a deſcendant from the incas, who was brought to Madrid, wrote the hiſtory of thoſe kings, in the year 1608. He was then far advanced in years; and his father might eaſily have been a witneſs to the revolution which happened in that country in the year 1530. He could not, indeed, know with any certainty, the minuter parts of the hiſtory of his anceſtors. The people of America were all of them ſtrangers to the art of writing, reſembling in this reſpect the antient Tartarian nations, the inhabitants of the ſouthern parts of Africa, our anceſtors the Celtes, and moſt of the people of the north; none of all theſe nations had any thing that could ſupply the place of hiſtory. The Peruvians tranſmitted their principal events to poſterity by means of knots tied on cords; but we find that in general, fundamental laws, the moſt eſſential points of religion, and heroic exploits, are tranſmitted with tolerable fidelity from perſon to perſon by word of mouth, in which manner Garcilaſſo might have acquired his knowledge of ſome capital events, and in ſuch only, he is worthy of our credit. He ſays, that throughout all the Peruvian empire they worſhipped the ſun; a worſhip which appeared more reaſonable than any other, in a country that did not enjoy the light of revelation. Pliny admitted no other god, even in the moſt enlightened ages of Rome. Plato, who was ſtill more enlightened than him, called the ſun, the ſon of God, the ſplendor of the Father; and we find this planet adored many ages before by the

[illegible] farther. [illegible]

[illegible] and [illegible]

[illegible] they were [illegible]

[illegible] and [illegible] industrious peop[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] Hanfeat, father of Atab[illegible]

[illegible] in whole reign this [illegible]

[illegible] has greatly augm[illegible]

* * *

[illegible] religious ceremo[illegible]

[illegible] the fun, they [illegible]

[illegible] is more natura[illegible]

[illegible] our pa[illegible]

[illegible] render th[illegible]

[illegible] made the nerve[illegible]

[illegible] pace, seven hundred or ou[illegible]

[illegible] paces in length *, and as thick a[illegible]

[illegible], each dancer took hold of a [illegible]

[illegible] we may conclude that gold [illegible]

upon as a good and benignant deity. And indeed the Peruvian nation itſelf, was, perhaps the moſt gentle in its manners of any in the whole world.

Of the firſt VOYAGE round the World.

Vol. IV. chap. cxxvi. pag. 219.

THE Mariana Iſlands, lying near the line, demand our particular attention. The inhabitants of thoſe iſlands know not what ſtrife is, and indeed that element would be altogether uſeleſs to them, as they live wholly upon fruits, which their land produces in great abundance; eſpecially cacao, ſago, which is much ſuperior to rice, and a kind of paſte or dough, that has the taſte of the beſt bread, and is formed in a pod or ſhell on the top of a large tree. It is ſaid that theſe people commonly live to the age of an hundred and twenty; the ſame has been ſaid of the natives of Braſil. When they were firſt diſcovered, they were neither wild nor cruel; nor did they want for any of the conveniences which were neceſſary for their ſubſiſtance. Their houſes were built of the planks of cocao trees, formed for the purpoſe, with great induſtry, and were neat and regular. Their gardens were laid out with great art; and they were, perhaps, the moſt happy, and the leaſt wretched of any people whatever. Nevertheleſs, the Portugueſe called their country the Iſland of Thieves, *Iſlas de los Ladrones*, becauſe thoſe people, not being perfectly verſed in the *meum et tuum*, happened to eat ſome of their ſhip-proviſions. There was no more religion

amongſt them, than amongſt the Hotte
or many other of the African and Am
nations. But beyond theſe iſlands, t
the Moluccas, there are other nations
the Mahometan religion was introduced
time of the caliphs. The Mahometar
ſailed thither through the Indian ſea, a
Chriſtians came through the South-Sea.
the Arabians known the uſe of the cc
they were the only people to have diſc
America, as laying in the very tract
their navigation never extended furth
the Iſle of Mindanao to the weſt of the
Ias. This vaſt cluſter of iſlands was inl
by different ſpecies of men, ſome white
black, ſome olive, and ſome red, or c
coloured: Nature has been always fo
vary more in hot climates than in thoſe
northward.

Of BRASIL.

AT the time that the Spaniards inva
richeſt part of the new world, the
gueſe, glutted with the treaſures of th
neglected the Braſils, which they had diſc
in the year 1500, without looking after

The Portugueſe admiral Cabral, aft
ing paſſed the Cape de Verd Iſlands, in l
to the coaſt of Malabar, through the ſc
ſea of Africa, ſteered ſo far to the we
that he fell in with the land of Braſil,
is that part of the Continent of America,
lies neareſt to Africa: there being but
grees of longitude between this coaſt and

las; it conſequently was the firſt diſcovered. ie country was found to be extremely fertile, l blooming with a continual ſpring. The ives were all of them ſtout, well-made, ro-, and vigorous; their complexion was of a liſh caſt; they went quite naked, excepting a large belt round their middles, which ed them as a kind of pouch.

hey were a people who lived by hunting; as they were not always aſſured of a certain iſtence, were conſequently wild and fierce, ing war upon each other, with their ar- s and clubs, for the ſpoils of the chace, in ſame manner as the civilized barbarians of old continent did, for the poſſeſſion of a villages. Anger and reſentment for in- es actual or ſuppoſed, frequently armed them inſt each other, as we read of the ancient eks and people of Aſia. They did not ifice human victims, for they had no re- ous worſhip among them, and conſequently ld have no ſacrifices to make, as the Mexi- s had: but they feaſted on the perſons they c in battle; and Americus Veſpuſius relates, ne of his letters, that theſe people were ck with aſtoniſhment to hear that the Euro- ns did not eat their priſoners.

As to laws, the Braſilians had none, but a as were made upon inſtant need, by the ple aſſembled together. They were go- ned wholly by inſtinct. By this inſtinct they rt to the chace, when preſſed by hunger, k to themſelves wives, when neceſſity re- red, and ſatisfied the calls of a momentary ion indiſcriminately.

These people are alone a convincing proof, that America was never known to the old world, or certainly some kind of religion would have found its way among them, from the continent of Africa, to which they are so near; and there must have remained some small traces of this religion, whatever it had been: whereas there is no such to be found. They had indeed certain jugglers among them, who went about with their heads adorned with feathers, stirred the people up to battle, pointed out to them the new moon, and pretended to cure them of their maladies with certain herbs; but no one ever heard of either priests, altars, or any kind of religious worship among them.

The people of Mexico and Peru, who were more civilized, had a regular worship. Religion with them was the support of the state, because it was entirely subject to, and dependant on the sovereign; but there could be no state or government among savages, who had neither wants nor a police.

The Portuguese government suffered the colonies which their merchants had sent to the Brasils to languish near fifty years unsupported, and almost unnoticed. At length, in the year 1559, it made some solid regulations relating thereto, and the kings of Portugal received tribute from both worlds at the same time. When Philip II. king of Spain, subjected Portugal in the year 1581, he found a considerable increase of wealth in the Brasils. The Dutch afterwards took them almost entirely from the Spaniards from the year 1625 to 1630.

The

The Dutch likewiſe ſtripped Spain of all the ſettlements belonging to the Portugueſe in the Old World and the New. At length, when theſe latter threw off the Spaniſh yoke, they recovered poſſeſſion of the coaſt of Braſil. This country has furniſhed its new maſters with the ſame productions as Mexico, Peru, and the iſlands did to the Spaniards; namely, gold, ſilver, and the moſt precious commodities. And even in our time there have been ſome diamond mines diſcovered in the Braſils, that were no way inferior in riches to thoſe of Golconda. But what has been the conſequence? Portugal has been beggared by its exceſſive riches. The colonies of Aſia and Braſil have drained it of a prodigious number of inhabitants: while thoſe who were left behind, having their heads full of gold and diamond mines, neglected to cultivate the real mines of inexhauſtible wealth to a ſtate, agriculture and the manufactories. Their gold and diamonds were found hardly ſufficient to pay for the neceſſary commodities with which they were furniſhed by the Engliſh, for whom only the Portugueſe may be ſaid to have laboured in America. In the year 1756, when Liſbon was deſtroyed by an earthquake, they were obliged to have a quantity of coined ſilver ſent from England, ſo great a ſcarcity was there of every thing in Portugal. In a word, in that kingdom, the ſovereign alone is rich, his people are all beggars.

Of the POSSESSIONS of the FRENCH in AMERICA.

SPAIN drew immenſe treaſures from Mexico and Peru, (which however have not greatly enriched them in the end) at a time when other nations had not a ſingle colony in the other parts of America that was of any advantage to them: this naturally excited their jealouſy, and determined them to follow the example of the Spaniards.

Admiral Coligny, who had great ideas in every thing, formed a ſcheme in the year 1557, during the reign of Henry II. to eſtabliſh a colony of French of his own ſect in the Braſils. The chevalier de Villegagnon, at that time a calviniſt, was ſent over thither. Calvin himſelf embarked in the undertaking. The Genoeſe were not at that time ſuch good traders as at preſent, and Calvin ſent over a greater number of preachers than labourers. The former wanting to have the upper hand, there enſued a violent quarrel between the commandant and them, which terminated in a ſedition. The colony, thus divided, was attacked and ruined by the Portugueſe. Villegagnon renounced Calvin and his miniſters as a ſet of religious incendiaries; they ſtigmatized him for an atheiſt, and France loſt the Braſils.

It was ſaid that the family of the incas had taken refuge in that extenſive country, whoſe frontiers join to thoſe of Peru; that the greateſt part of the inhabitants of that country had [redacted] thither from the avarice and cruelty of the European

European chriſtians, who occupied the middlemoſt part, and had ſettled near a certain lake named Perima, the ſand of which was gold; and that they had there built a city, the houſes of which were all tiled with that precious metal. The Spaniards were for a long time employed in ſearching after this city, which they called Eldorado, or the Golden City.

This name rouſed the attention of all the powers of Europe. In the year 1596, queen Elizabeth ſent out a fleet, under the command of the ingenious and unfortunate Sir Walter Raliegh, to diſpute theſe glorious ſpoils with the Spaniards. Raleigh actually diſcovered a country, inhabited by a people of a red complexion; and he pretends, in his writings, to have met with a nation, whoſe ſhoulders were as high as their heads. He makes no doubt but that the country furniſhed mines; and he brought back to England with him an hundred large plates of ſolid gold, and ſeveral pieces of the wrought metal: but, after all, there was no Dorado nor lake Perima to be found. The French, after ſeveral fruitleſs attempts, made a ſettlement in the year 1664, on the iſland of Cayenne, a point of that extenſive coaſt, not more than fifteen leagues in circumference, and to which they gave the name of Equinoctial France, though the whole colony did not conſiſt of above 150 houſes, partly wood and partly earth: and the iſland of Cayenne was never worth any thing to France, till the time of Lewis XIV. who was the firſt of the French kings that truly encouraged the maritime commerce. This iſland was taken from the French by the Dutch in the war of 1672. But a fleet, ſent over by Lewis

XIV. took it again. Its preſent produce is a little indigo, and ſome very bad coffee. Guiana was reputed the fineſt country in all America, and where the French might have made ſettlements with the greateſt eaſe; and this was the very country the moſt neglected by them.

They had heard of Florida, a country lying between the old and new world, part of which the Spaniards were already in poſſeſſion of; and it was they who firſt gave the name of Florida to this part of the continent of North America. But, as the captain of a French cruizer pretended to have landed here nearly about the ſame time with the Spaniards, the right to it was to be diſputed; for, by our law of nations, or rather of robbers, the lands of the Americans ought to be the property not only of the firſt invaders, but alſo of any one who pretended to have firſt diſcovered them.

Admiral Coligny, in the reign of Charles IX. and about the year 1564, had ſent thither a colony of Huguenots, being deſirous of eſtabliſhing his religion in America, as well as the Spaniards had eſtabliſhed theirs. The Spaniards deſtroyed this country, and hung up all the French they found in the place upon the trees, with a label to each, importing, that *they had been hanged not as Frenchmen, but as heretics.*

Some time afterwards one chevalier de Gourgues, a Gaſcon, having put himſelf at the head of a number of pirates to endeavour to recover Florida, made himſelf maſter of a ſmall Spaniſh fort; and, in his turn, hung up all the priſoners, taking care to affix a writing to each, ſignifying *that they had been hanged not as Spaniards, but as robbers and infidels.* And now the unhappy

natives of America began to ſee their European deſpoilers revenge their cauſe, by mutually deſtroying each other: a conſolation which they have frequently enjoyed.

After having hanged the Spaniards, in order to ſecure themſelves from the ſame treatment, the French were obliged to evacuate Florida, and made a formal renunciation of their pretended right to that country; which was, in many reſpects, preferable even to Guiana. But the bloody diſputes concerning religion, which at that time ſpread deſtruction through all the kingdom of France, left the people no leiſure to go and butcher and convert theſe ſavages, or conteſt the poſſeſſion of this fine country with the Spaniards.

The Engliſh had for ſome time been in poſſeſſion of the beſt lands, and the moſt advantageous in point of ſituation, that could be wiſhed for in North America, on the other ſide of Florida, when a few merchants of Normandy, on the ſimple proſpect of eſtabliſhing a ſmall trade for ſkins and furs, eſtabliſhed a colony in Canada, a country covered with ice or ſnow during eight months of the year, and inhabited only by ſavages, bears, and beavers. This country, which was diſcovered ſome time before the year 1535, had been afterwards abandoned; but at length, after ſeveral attempts badly ſupported by the government for want of a ſufficient naval force, a ſmall company of merchants of Dieppe and St. Malo's founded Quebec, in the year 1608; that is to ſay, they built a few huts there, which did not take the form of a town till the reign of Lewis XIV.

This

This ſettlement and that of Louiſburg, as well as all the reſt in New France, have been always very poor, while there are no leſs than 15000 coaches driving through the ſtreets of the city of Mexico, and ſtill more in that of Lima. Nevertheleſs, the poverty of theſe countries has not exempted them from being the theatre of continual wars, either with the natives or the Engliſh; who, though already poſſeſſed of far the beſt territories, were ſtill anxious to diveſt the French of thoſe which belonged to them, in order to make themſelves ſole maſters of the trade of this wintery region of the world.

The natives of Canada are not of the ſame kind with thoſe of Mexico, Peru, or the Braſils. They reſemble them in the want of hair, of which they have none except on their eyebrows and head; but they differ from them in their colour, which approaches nearer to ours; and ſtill more in their diſpoſition, which is very fierce and courageous. They were always entire ſtrangers to monarchical government, the republican ſpirit having always prevailed among the northern nations, both of the old and new world. The inhabitants of North America, of the Apalachian mountains, and of Davis's ſtreights, are all of them peaſants and hunters, living together in little towns or villages, which is an inſtitution natural to the human ſpecies. We very ſeldom give them the name of Indians, having erroneouſly appropriated that name to the people of Mexico, Peru, and the Braſils; which country has been called the Indies, only becauſe as much treaſure comes from thence as from the real Indies; but content ourſelves with calling the North Americans ſavages, though

gh they are leſs ſo in ſome reſpects than country people on ſome of our European oaſts, who have ſo long aſſumed the barus right of plundering all veſſels that are :ked on their ſhores, and murdering the unhappy ſailors. War, the crime and rge of all times and all countries, was not i them as it is with us, a mere motive of :eſt; it was in general the reſult of venice meditated for injuries received, as it alſo with the Braſilians and all other ſa- : nations.

'he moſt horrible thing belonging to the adians was their cuſtom of putting their ives to death by the moſt cruel torments, and :wards eating them. This barbarous practice · learnt from the people of Braſil, though ie diſtance of fifty degrees from each other. h nations feaſted on the fleſh of their ene- s, as on the produce of the chace. This cuſtom that has not always prevailed; but is been common to more than one nation, /e have ſhewn in the foregoing ſheets.

n the frozen and barren climes of Canada i were frequently cannibals; but they were ſo in Acadia, which is a better country and luces greater plenty of foods: nor in the of the continent, excepting only ſome parts ie Braſils and on the Caribbee iſlands.

'he infant colony of Canada was formed by w Jeſuits and Huguenots, who had met toier there by a ſtrange fatality: they afterds enteted into an alliance with the Hurons,) were at war with the Iroquois. Theſe :r did great damage to the colony, and took ral Jeſuits priſoners; and, as it is ſaid, eat

them

them. The ſettlement at Quebec ſuffered conſiderably from the Engliſh, who attacked it almoſt as ſoon as it was built and fortified. They afterwards made themſelves maſters of all Acadia, which indeed was doing little more than deſtroying a few fiſhermen's huts.

The French then had no foreign ſettlement at that time, either in Aſia or America.

The company of merchants who had ruined themſelves by theſe projects, in hopes to repair their loſſes, applied to cardinal Richelieu to be included in the treaty made with the Engliſh at St. Germains. The latter conſented to reſtore the little they had taken, and of which they made ſmall account; and this little became afterwards New France. This ſettlement continued a long time in a deplorable condition, ſave only that the cod-fiſhery brought in ſome little profits which ſerved to ſupport the company. But as ſoon as the Engliſh were apprized of theſe ſmall profits, they ſeized upon Acadia again.

They reſtored it again by the treaty of Breda. After that they took it five ſeveral times, and at length made it their property by the treaty of Utrecht; a treaty which, though looked upon as an happy event at the time it was made, has ſince proved the moſt fatal to the peace of Europe: for we ſhall ſee that the miniſters who drew it up, not having properly determined the limits of Acadia, which the Engliſh have endeavoured to enlarge, and the French to confine; this corner of the world has proved the ſubject of a furious war; which broke out between the rival nations in the year 1755, and drew along with it the war in Germany, with which it had no kind of connection. But ſo complicated

as

are the political intereſts of the preſent times, that a ſhot fired in America ſhall be the ſignal for ſetting all Europe together by the ears.

The French, in 1713, remained in poſſeſſion of the little iſland of Cape Breton, on which is Louiſbourgh, the river of St. Laurence, Quebec, and Canada. Poſſeſſions which were rather uſeful, by being a nurſery for ſeamen, than profitable in any other reſpects. Quebec contained about 7000 inhabitants; but the war carried on by the government to preſerve this country coſt more than the country itſelf will ever be worth, and yet it appeared abſolutely neceſſary.

In New France is comprehended an immenſe tract of country, which joins on one ſide to Canada, and on the other to New Mexico; and whoſe limits towards the north-eaſt are not known. This country is called the Miſſiſſippi, from a river of that name, which falls into the gulph of Mexico; and Louiſiana, from the name of Lewis XIV.

This tract of land lay very convenient for the Spaniards; but having already too large an extent of dominion in America, they neglected the poſſeſſion of it; and the more ſo, as it produced no gold. Some French belonging to Canada undertook to travel into this country, partly by land, and partly by ſailing round the Illinois river; in which trial they underwent the moſt ſhocking hardſhips and fatigues. It was as if you were to go to Egypt round the Cape of Good-Hope, inſtead of taking the route of Damietta. This extenſive part of New France, till the year 1708, was peopled only by about a dozen *families*, who led a wandering life in *the midſt of deſarts* and woods.

Lewis XIV. who at that time was ready to ſink under his misfortunes, and ſaw Old France on the point of falling to ruin, could not think of the New. The ſtate was exhauſted of men and money; and here it may not be improper to obſerve, that, during theſe times of public calamity, two men acquired fortunes of near forty millions * each; one by a great private trade he carried on in the Eaſt Indies, while that company, which had been eſtabliſhed by Colbert, was entirely ruined; and the other, by lending money to an unſucceſsful, neceſſitous, and ignorant miniſtry. This great merchant, whoſe name was Cruzat, was rich and venturous enough to riſque a part of his fortune to purchaſe a grant of Louiſiana from the king, on condition that every ſhip, that he or his partners ſhould ſend thither, ſhould carry over ſix young perſons of each ſex, in order to people the country, where trade and population were equally at a ſtand.

After the death of Lewis XIV. Law, a Scotchman, a very extraordinary perſon, many of whoſe ſchemes had proved uſeleſs, and others hurtful to the nation, made the government and the people believe, that Louiſiana produced as much gold as Peru, and that it would ſoon be able to ſupply as great a quantity of ſilk as China. This was the firſt epocha of Law's famous ſcheme, called the Miſſiſſippi ſcheme. Several colonies were ſent to that country, and a plan was drawn of a magnificent and regular city, to be built there, by the name of New Orleans. The ſettlers almoſt all of them periſhed for want; and the city was confined to a few paltry houſes. Perhaps one day, when France

* Of livres, equal to 1600,000 l. ſterling.

ſhall

have a million or two of inhabitants than ſhe may know what to do with, y be of ſome advantage to her to people iana.

ıe FRENCH ISLANDS, and of the BUCCANEERS, or FREEBOOTERS.

HE poſſeſſions of the moſt conſequence that the French have acquired at different ;, are, one half of the iſland of St. Domingo, ſlands of Martinico, Guadaloupe, and ſome ıe leſſer Antilles; which is not the two redth part of what the Spaniards have got heir conqueſts; but theſe have, however, :d out to great advantage.

. Domingo is that very iſland Hiſpaniola, :he natives called *Aiti)* which was diſcover- y Columbus, and depopulated by the Spa- ls; the French have not been able to find nat part of the iſland which they inhabit, gold and ſilver which was formerly found :; this may happen either from metals ac- ing a long ſucceſſion of ages to be formed, vhich ſeems the moſt probable, that there is a certain quantity contained in the bowels ıe earth, and that a mine when once ex- ted, is never recruited; and indeed, when :onſider that gold and ſilver are not mixed als, it is difficult to ſay, how they can be oduced. There are ſtill mines of theſe me- in that part of the country, which is under dominion of the Spaniards; but as the ex- :e exceeds the profits, they have left off king them.

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young women to be ſent them from France: this number however, was far from being ſufficient to keep up a ſociety, which was now become ſo numerous. Two Buccanners therefore caſt dice for one woman; he that won married her; and the loſer had no right to lie with her, unleſs the other was abſent, or employed elſewhere.

Theſe people ſeemed upon the whole formed rather to deſtroy than to found a ſtate. They performed unheard of exploits, and were guilty of incredible cruelties. One man (named l'Olonois, from the iſland of Olonne his birthplace) ventures into the port of the Havanah with a ſingle canoe, and cuts out from thence an armed frigate. Upon examining one of the priſoners on board, the man confeſſes that this frigate was fitted out purpoſely to ſail in ſearch of him, and, if poſſible, to take and hang him; adding further, that he himſelf was to have been his executioner. On hearing this, l'Olonois, without further delay, orders the fellow to be hanged up, cuts off the heads of all the other priſoners with his own hand, and drinks their blood.

This l'Olonois, and one of companions named le Baſque, marched at the head of five hundred Buccaneers, as far as Venezola in the bay of Honduras, where they deſtroyed two conſiderable towns with fire and ſword, and returned loaded with booty. This ſucceſs enabled them to equip the veſſels which had been taken by their canoes, with cannon and all other neceſſaries, ſo that they beheld themſelves on a ſudden become a maritime power, and on the point of being great conquerors.

Mor-

Morgan, a native of England, who has left a famous name behind him, puts himſelf at the head of a thouſand Buccaneers, partly of his own nation, and partly Normans, Bretons, and natives of Saintonge, and Baſque, with whom he undertakes to get poſſeſſion of Porto-Bello, the magazine of the riches of Spain, a city of great ſtrength, and defended by a number of cannon, and a conſiderable garriſon. Morgan arrives before it without any artillery, ſcales the walls of the citadel in ſpite of the enemy's fire; and, notwithſtanding the moſt obſtinate reſiſtance, made himſelf maſter of it. By this ſucceſsful temerity, he obliges the city to purchaſe it's ranſom of him for a million of piaſters*. Some time afterwards, he has the boldneſs to land on the Iſthmus of Panama, in the midſt of the Spaniſh troops; forces his way to the ancient city of Panama, carries off all the treaſures lodged there, and burns the city to the ground, and returns to Jamaica victorious and enriched. This man, who was only the ſon of a poor peaſant in England, might have erected a kingdom to himſelf in America; but after all his exploits, he ended his days in priſon at London.

The French Buccaneers, whoſe place of retreat was ſometimes among the rocks of St. Domingo, and at others in the iſland of Tortuga, fit out ſix armed boats, and with about 1200 men, go and attack Vera-Cruz; an undertaking as great as if 1200 men from Biſcay ſhould come and lay ſiege to Bourdeaux with ten boats. However, they take the place by ſtorm, and bring away five millions in ſpecie, and about

* About 200,000l. ſterling, a piaſter being about 4s. 6d. Engliſh.

1500

1500 ſlaves. At length, made bold by a multitude of ſucceſſes of this kind, they determine, both French and Engliſh, to enter the South Sea, and make themſelves maſters of Peru. No Frenchman had at that time ever ſeen the South-Sea, and there was no way to get to it but by croſſing the mountains of the Iſthmus of Panama, or by ſailing all along the coaſt of South-America, and paſſing the Streights of Magellan, to which they were all of them ſtrangers. However, they divide themſelves into two parties, and ſet out at the ſame time in the two different routes.

Thoſe who croſs the Iſthmus, plunder and deſtroy all that comes in their way; and at length arrive on the borders of the South-Sea, make themſelves maſters of ſome barks they find in the harbours, and wait the arrival of their companions, who were to paſs the Streights of Magellan. Theſe latter, who were almoſt all of them French, after having undergone adventures as romantic as their enterprize, were not able to get to Peru through the Streights, being blown back by tempeſts, which drove them upon the coaſt of Africa, where they landed, and plundered all the inhabitants along ſhore.

In the mean time, thoſe who had got to the South-Sea acroſs the Iſthmus, having only open boats to ſail in, are purſued by the Spaniſh flota from Peru. How are they now to eſcape? One of their companions, who commands a kind of canoe with about fifty men aboard, makes the beſt of his way into the Vermillion ſea, and gets on ſhore at California, where he remains four years; he afterwards returns back through the South-Sea; in his paſſage takes a ſhip with 500,000 piaſters on board, paſſes the Straights of

of Magellan, and arrives ſafe at Jamaica with his booty.

The others return back to the Iſthmus loaded with gold and precious ſtones. The Spaniſh troops aſſemble on all ſides, and purſue them. This obliges them to croſs the Iſthmus in its wideſt part, and to march round about for the ſpace of 300 leagues; whereas there are not above 80, in a right line, from the place where they were to that whither they were going. In their journey they are frequently ſtopt by cataracts, which they are obliged to deſcend in machines made like a tub. They have hunger and thirſt to ſtruggle with, and the elements and their enemies the Spaniards. At length, however, they arrive at the North Sea, with what part of their treaſure they have been able to ſave. Their number was, by this time, decreaſed to 500. The retreat of the 10,000 Greeks will be always more famous in hiſtory, but certainly is not to be compared with this.

If theſe adventurers could have been all united under one chief, they might have formed a very conſiderable ſtate in America; but their enterprizes were chiefly confined to doing the Spaniards almoſt as much hurt as theſe had formerly done to the American natives. Part of them returned home to their own countries, to enjoy their riches in peace; others died of the exceſſes occaſioned by thoſe riches, and a great many were ſoon reduced to their original indigence. The governments of France and England ceaſed to countenance or protect them, when they had no longer any occaſion for their aſſiſtance; and at preſent nothing remains of

these heroic robbers, only the remembrance o their valour and cruelty.

It is to them that France is indebted for on half of the island of St. Domingo; and it wa by their arms that she was maintained in posses sion of it during the time of their cruises.

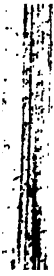
In the year 1757 they reckoned 30,000 per sons in that part of St. Domingo belonging to th French, besides 100,000 slaves, blacks and mulat toes, who work in the several plantations of su gar, cacao, and indigo; and who sacrifice thei lives and healths to please those new-acquired wants and appetites which were unknown to our forefathers. We send for these negroes to the coast of Guinea, and to the gold and ivory coasts. I do not know what the present price may be; but about thirty years ago a good negro could be bought for fifty livres, which is abou five times less than what we pay for a fat ox. We tell them with one breath that they are men like us, and that they are redeemed by the blood of a God, who was crucified for them; and the next we set them to work like beasts of burthen, and feed them worse. If they attempt to make their escape, we cut off one of their legs, and after having supplied its place with a wooden one, we make them turn a sugar-mill by hand; and yet shall we pretend, after all this, to talk o the law of nations!

The little islands of Martinico and Guada loupe yield the same commodities as St. Domin go. These islands, and the events that have happened in them, are mere points in the history of the universe: but, after all, these countries though hardly perceptible in a map of the world produced in France an annual circulation o

 nea

near 60 millions in merchandize. This trade does not enrich a country; far from it, for it is the cauſe of many ſhipwrecks, and the loſs of a number of lives. Therefore it certainly cannot be looked upon as a real good; but as mankind have made new wants for themſelves, it prevents the kingdom from purchaſing at a dear rate from foreigners, a ſuperfluity that is, by this means, become a neceſſary.

The END of the TWENTY-SECOND VOLUME.



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